

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

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Subject to subsequent revision, the following is the proposed list of volumes
of the Linguistic Survey of India.

- Vol. I Introductory
- „ II Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families
- „ III. Part I Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam
- „ „ II Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages
- „ „ III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages
- „ IV Mundā and Dravidian languages
- „ V Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group
 - Part I Bengali and Assamese.
 - „ II Bihāri and Oṛiyā
- „ VI Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi)
- „ VII Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marāṭhi)
- „ VIII Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group
 - Part I Sindhi and Lahndā
 - „ II Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmīri)
- „ IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group
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 - „ II Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED

A—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ē,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ r,	ॠ e,	ए ē,	ऐ ai,	ओ o,	औ ō,	औ au
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ na	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña			
ट ta	ठ tha	ड da	ढ dha	ण ra	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na			
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va	or wa			
श śa	ष sha	स sa	ह ha	ळ ṛa	ट ṛha	ळ la	ळ ṛha					

Visarga (◌ḥ) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमश् क्रamaśah Anuswāra (◌ṃ) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह siṃh, वम् वamś In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*, thus बङ्ग bangga Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus में mē

B—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc	ح h	د d	ر r	س s	ع 'e
ب b	چ ch	ड d	ڑ r	ش sh	ع gh
پ p	ف f	ز z	ز z	ص s	ف f
ت t	ل l		ژ zh	ص s	ق q
ث t				ط t	ك k
ث s				ط z	ك g
					ل l
					م m
					ن n
					when representing anundika
					in Dēva nāgarī, by ~ over
					nasalized vowel.
					و or v
					ه h
					ي y, etc

Tanwīn is represented by *n*, thus فاوران fauran Alif-e maqṣū'a is represented by *ā*,—thus داوā

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus باندā When pronounced, it is written,—thus گونāh

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration Thus बān, not bānā When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line Thus (Hindī) देखता dēkhtā, pronounced dēkhtā, (Kāsh-mīrī) देखत tēh, कह kar, pronounced kor, (Bihārī) देखति dēkhatī

O—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted —

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (ॢ), Paṣtō (٢), Kāshmirī (٢, ٣), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ॣ), Paṣtō (٣), and Tibetan (ལ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī ٤ (٤) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhī ٦, Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N-W Frontier) ٧, and Paṣtō ٨ or ٩ are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣtō —
 ١٠ *t*, ١١ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation, ١٢ *d*, ١٣ *t*, ١٤ *z* or *q*, according to pronunciation, ١٥ *sh* or *lh*, according to pronunciation, ١٦ or ١٧ *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī —
 ١٨ *bb*, ١٩ *bh*; ٢٠ *th*, ٢١ *t*, ٢٢ *lh*, ٢٣ *ph*, ٢٤ *ṃ*, ٢٥ *gh*, ٢٦ *chh*;
 ٢٧ *ñ*, ٢٨ *dh*; ٢٩ *d*, ٣٠ *dd*, ٣١ *dh*, ٣٢ *k*, ٣٣ *lh*, ٣٤ *gg*, ٣٥ *gh*,
 ٣٦ *n*, ٣٧ *n*.

D—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following —

á, represents the sound of the *a* in *all*

ā, " " " *a* in *hat*

ē, " " " *e* in *met*

ō, " " " *o* in *hot*

e, " " " *é* in the French *était*

o, " " " *o* in the first *o* in *promote*

ō, " " " *ō* in the German *schön*

ū, " " " *ū* in the " *mühe*

th, " " " *th* in *think*

dh, " " " *th* in *this*

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Mundā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *l'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *dssistat*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the *Linguistic Survey* contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

GIPSY LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades, others, like the Banjārās, Ōds, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade, others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Korava and Yerukala	55,116
Kaikāḍi	8,289
Burgāḍi	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurumba	10,399
Vaḍari	27,099
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol IX, Part III, of this Survey, *viz* —

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Bāorī	17,000
Banjari	15,500
Charapi	1,200
Habūṛā	950
Par'dhi or Takaukarī	868
Siyālgiri	120
Tārimūki or Ghisaḍi (Vol IX, Part II)	1,660
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz* —

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Bēldarī	5,140
Bhamṛī	14
Dōm	13,500
Gārōdī	2
Gulguḥā	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi)	7,085
Kōlhāṭī	2,367
Laḍī	500
Macharā	30
Malar	2,300
Myanwālē or Lharī	2
Natī	11,534
Ōḍkī	2,814
Peṇḍhārī	1,250
Qaṣāī	2,700
Sāsī	51,550
Sikalgārī	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Panjābi and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFUR,—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab, together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab Lahore Printed at the Central Jail Press 1879 Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp 29 30, Pilferers or Uthāgīras, pp 32 38, Khallait Uchakka and Tagu, pp 38-40, Sansis, pp 40 51, Doomnas, pp 51-54, Gandhīlas, pp 54-56, Sweepers of Delhi District, p 57, Sweepers of Punjab, pp 57 59, Harnis, pp 59 60, Būrnas, pp 60 61, Minas, p 62, Meos, pp 62 63, Ahus and Goojars, p 64, Thugs p 65, Pachhāddas, pp 65 66
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880 This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafur's so-called Dictionary
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880
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- TEMPLE, [SIR] R C,—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqash or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol III Part 1, 1884 pp 1 and ff
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R C,—*The Delhi Dalals and their Slang* Indian Antiquary, Vol XIV 1885, pp 135 and ff
- BAILEY, REV T GRAHAM, DD—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects* Contains I Notes on the Sikh Dialect pp 1 and ff, II The Secret Words of the Qazals, pp 9 and f, III The Argot of Panjabi Gamblers pp 11 and f, IV The Dialect of the Cūhrās, pp 13 and ff Privately printed No date or place of publication
- (KEENEY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin* Bombay, 1908

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911 It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows —

Ajmer Merwara	209
Bombay	8362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Punjab	5640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1097
Hyderabad State	4566
Punjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	456
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	<u>28,294</u>

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups,

Classification

ordinary dialects and argots The former group comprises Beldāri, Bhantī, Lādi, Ōdkī and Pendhārī, the latter Dōm, Gurodi, Gulgubā Kanjari, Kolhātī, Malār, Mvānwāl, Natī, Qasāi, Sāsī and Sīalgārī

The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bliḥ in Vol IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhrīs, etc See Authorities, above

Within the first of our two groups the Pendhārīs in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference Both the Pendhārīs and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakṣiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipurī Most Bhamṭas, however, speak Telugu Lādi is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī The Ōds are probably related to the Vadars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west The Beldārs are described as a Dravidian caste They usually state that they are Rājputās, and Dr Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōds The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārīs, Hāburās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bliḥi The traditions of both Banjārīs and Hāburās point towards Rajputana Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e. belong to the so-called Dravidian race Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana Dr Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sīsīs, Kanjars, Nats, and so on, i.e. such Indian Gypsies as possess an argot Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana Thus the Sīsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chaubān Rājputās Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kolhātīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Nats, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana The Sīalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājputās from Marwar The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishādas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vīna Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput sept, which, according to Dr Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishādas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands The Nishādas were, according to the Āitarcya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahīdhara identifies them with the Bhīllas In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya" It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e. of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular

If we begin with Sāsi, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*, the pronouns *ham*, we, *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsis is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dukhīnī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjarī, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *mō*, he, *yō*, you, verbal suffixes such as *ni*, *gir*, in the present and past, the frequent use of relative participles, the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjarī is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsis and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūrās. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhili in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiyā Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Nātī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Nāts varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qaṣāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sīkalgārī on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nagpurī. Gulgulā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhils, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pañjābī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahlāvi, thus *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rajput invasion been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pallars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwälsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot German *galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew, *dupa*, ignorant, from the French, *lordilla*, which is derived from *lou*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *lisvar* for *vista*, view, *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common, compare Rotwälsch *aitze* instead of *hitze*, heart. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauna*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau gau-na gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable, thus *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable, thus *tu-zum lazhā jazātizē huzō* for *tum kahā jāte hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-lu-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *us-hō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asam bosbor desd-bosbo* for *ami bor dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker, *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr Leitner,¹ where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayatan*, dark fortnight, *yatan*, bright fortnight, *sabda*, day, *sagarā*, night, *yavya*, month, *sumēla*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 1. 7. 2. 25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5751ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv)

² The commentator Nilakanṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcastes (*mīchchhas*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhāti, Kanjarī, Dōm, Natī, Gārōdi, Myānwālē, Gulguhā, and Sihalgārī, *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhāti, Kanjarī, Natī, Myānwālē, and Sihalgārī, *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhāti, Natī, and Gārōdi, *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Natī, and Sihalgārī, and so forth Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources The same is most certainly the case in India We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *peimi*, or *chai*, water, with Tibetan *chhu* The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *lūl*, Sāsī *lōṇā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*, Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*, Kanjarī and Sihalgārī *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *mādu*, Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *timnu*, Sāsī *pīngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*, Dōm *kichwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chuch*, Kanjarī *ti*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tin*, Kanjarī *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūd*, Myānwālē *hucād* (compare Giripārī Sirmauri *hōṭ*), go, and *barwāḍ*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively, Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhāti *bōnā*, Natī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*, Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudṛev*, Sāsī *khaulā*, Natī *khōllā*, Sihalgārī *khōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlarī *khōli*, room, Malayālam *kudi*, house, compare Malār *khulsā*, husband, and Yerukala *khulēṭi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *ṣi* in *tangēi*, sister, Sāsī *tūndā*, Kōlhāti *tandē*, Natī *ṭundā*, pig, with Tamil *panṛ*, Sāsī *bnknā*, run, with Kurukh *bongā*, Kanjarī, Sihalgārī *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēdā*, Kōlhāti *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēdā*, Kōlhāti *hēṭṭi*, wife, with Kanarese *hendatī*, and so forth I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhāti, Natī, etc, the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots, the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī, the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enṛu*, Yerukala *anda*, Sanskrit *sti*, etc, after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelep*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sāsī *kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat, *chōmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker, *tīp*=*pēt*, belly, Gārōdī *dabō*=*badō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in Sāsī *kha-kāl*, famine, *dha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *dha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases, thus, Sāsī *khas*=*das*, ten, *ghūkhā*=*bhūlhā*, hungry. In some forms of Nāti we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-lhā*=*lhēt*, field. In Malār *chahmbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels, the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *gh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials, *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*, and *l* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sāsī *lahhgā*=*lahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sāsī, Kōlhātī *bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafeman*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Nāti *ā-sar*, come, and *uar*, *wār*, *bāi*, in numerous Kanjari, Dōm, Qasāi, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *l* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjari, Nāti, Myānwālē, and so on, additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots, additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sīkalgāri *khālā*, Kanjarū *ēlō*, Myānwālē *ēlū*, Malār *lu*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

Conclusions

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will see that —

- 1 the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India,
- 2 many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs,
- 3 their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

- 4 some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhī than to Rājasthānī ,
- 5 many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects
- 6 these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ,
- 7 the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ,
- 8 a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian , and
- 9 some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhī had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Dōms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājo*, a gentile, *julci*, dog, and Sāsi *kajjā*, Natī *lājā*, man, Kanjarī *ghūlī*, Mvānwālī *julclā*, Sāsi *chhukal*, bhūkal, Kolhāpī *dholal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindostān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENDHĀRĪ

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Pendhārīs are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afgāns, Marāthās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Pendhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēndhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters'.

At the Census of 1911 the number of Pendhārīs was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows —

Central India Agency	4,014
Elsewhere	2,399
TOTAL	<u>6,413</u>

The only district which returned Pendhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Pendhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Pendhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhīnī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons, *bāpā*, father, *chhē*, is, *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend, *māi ūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *hai-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andū*, having said.

{ No 1 }

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHĀRI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR

Kī-i ek admī-kū dō pūtā chhē Us-nē-sī nhānā pūt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were Them in-from younger son own
 bāp-ku bolā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to me give'
 Unē āpnī jindgi un-kū bāt-diyā Thōdō dīn-kē pichechē
By him own property them-to was divided Few days of after
 nhānā sab milī-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta hyā
by younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken
 Whī unē dhundprānt sē āpnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā Sab
There by-him luxuriousness with own property spoiled-was-made All
 zamā-lē kē angē ō mulak-nē ek badā dukāl padā Bhī unē
spent-having then that country in one big famine fell And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā Unē ō mulak-kē ek admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was lived By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jū-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā Unē isē suvrā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was lived By-him him some
 chārānē-kū āpnī khētān-nē bhūj-diyā Ō suvrā khānē-kā bhūsē-sī
feeding-for own fields-into it-was sent He some eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bhārānē-kī khusī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāī Unē huśīr hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē kettē
was-given not By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū has hō-kē jāstī rahē ottē
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become having more remained so much
 rōṭyā rahwē-chhī Huwā-to-bī mai bhūk-sē marū Mai
bread remained Still I hunger-from die I
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jī-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tērē āmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā Is-kē angē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was done This of after
 tērā pūt kawū-lēnē-kū mai lāyakh nāī Tērē majūri-kē jawānan-nē ek
thy son being-called-for I worthy not Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mujē bī iakh," kar-kō hōlū,' kar-kō hōl-hiyā
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.
 Uth-kē āpnō bāp-kānē āyā Chhōto unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came But for-him still way much
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having
 nbāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kō usē mukhā dya
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him his was-given
 Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhi terī ākhī-kō imnē mai gunhā
Son to him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes of before by me sin
 karā Ab angē kadī-bī marī tērī pūt kawa-hyē arīka nāī,'
was done Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'
 kar-kē bōlā Chhōtō-bī bāp-nē ipnē narakar-lokā-kū, 'lhai chōkot
said-having said Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good
 jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pirī bhi us-kē hāt-kū angutī
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring
 bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dō Bhi haman khī-kē khusī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give And we eaten having happily
 rhañ Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērī pūt mar-grāī chhī-to, phir-kē
should-stay Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again
 jītā huwā, gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kē milī,' kar-kē bōlā Bhi
alive became, gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said And
 unan khusī kar-nē lāgē.
they merry to-make began

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHĀRĪ

SPECIMEN II

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Dhūp Heat	kāl-nē time-at	ek one	kōlā fox	bahut much	pyās thirst	lāg-kē felt-being	jāngal-nē wood-in	phir-kē rambling
pānī water	dhundā, searched,	lēkin but	kā-bī anywhere	naī not	milā it-was-found	dēkh-kē seen-having	Pichhē-sī At-last	dōngā deep
thaddē-nē pit-in	thōdā a-little	pānī water	khād-rākē standing	bich-nē the-midst-in	kudā he-jumped	agādī-kā future-of	dhyān thought	naī not
kar-kē made-having	us-kē it-of	phir-kē again	uppar up	ānē kū coming-for	wāstē for-the-sake	chintā thinking	karā was-made	tatt-kē being-in a-fix
pī-kē dunk-having	rastā-ch way	naī not	phukīr anxiety	khārā was-made	ā-kē coming	bā, father,	naī not	achchhā, well,
Usē To-that	khād-rā-kē standing	pyās thirst	lāg-kē felt-being	lāg-kē felt-being	lāg-kē felt-being	lāg-kē felt-being	lāg-kē felt-being	lāg-kē felt-being
ō that	tagar, goat,	'hō 'O	kōlā for	bā, father,	naī not	achchhā, well,	pūchhā, asked	Ē This
lāg-kē felt-being	maran, die,	hisē to-anybody	pinū, drunkest,	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having
ā-kē coming	pānī water	chhē? 'is?'	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that
pāpī water	kaī how	chhē? 'is?'	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that
mittā sweet	kar-kē saying	āyā, camest,	bahut much	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly
Tū Thou	āyā, camest,	bahut much	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly	tagar goat
kōn-tō-bī anyone-else	phasānē-kī cunning-of	bāt word	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly	tagar goat	tallē down	kudī-mār-kē jumped-having
lāg-kē felt-being	maran, die,	hisē to-anybody	pinū, drunkest,	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having
ā-kē coming	pānī water	chhē? 'is?'	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that
pāpī water	kaī how	chhē? 'is?'	kar-kē saying	bōlū? may-I-say?	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that
mittā sweet	kar-kē saying	āyā, camest,	bahut much	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly
Tū Thou	āyā, camest,	bahut much	chakōt good	tujē to-thee	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly	tagar goat
kōn-tō-bī anyone-else	phasānē-kī cunning-of	bāt word	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly	tagar goat	tallē down	kudī-mār-kē jumped-having

अप-त	प-त	भिर-ल	पान	पिया	पिछहे-स	उपर	आने-कु
from	fell,	filled-laving	water	was-drunk	Afterwards	up	coming-for
उपर	उ	दोन	मिल-ल	बहुत	वक़त	पिछीर	करा
under	there	both	joined-laving	much	time	anxiety	was-made

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed, we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down, how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happens to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMTĪ

The Bhāmtās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmtās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Gaṇthachōrs*, *Uchhlās*, *Vadarīs*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is Vadari, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's'. The home language of some of the Gaṇthachōrs of the Bijapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhīnī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmtī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmtās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmtās which I have seen are in pp 464 and ff of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp 3 and ff of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp 16 and ff of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol IV, pp 607ff

[No 3]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR

Koī-ēk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē Ūs-mā-kā nānā pōrvā
A certain man-to two sons were Them-in-of the younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mūrā hissā dē' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give' Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kō dūr dēs gavā-chhē Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered And all
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē bādā kāl padā-chhē Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell Thereby
 us-kō bipat padī-chhē Ibē ō kāl us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kō
him-to want befell Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jāurē rahā-chhē. Ūs-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē dukar charānē-kō
near remained Him-by him-to his-own field-in sūcine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē Ibē dukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed Then the-sūcine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya chhē Kōī-nē us-lō kāl-nā diyā chhē
thought made-was Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was

[No 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ek Birbal-kā bētī chhā, ek rājā-kā bētī chhā Un-kī badī
One Birbal of son was, one king-of son was Them-of great
 dostī rahē Doī-kā dil ek chhā Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed Both-of mind one was Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāykō dusrō-kē ghar
'chose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nū ' Bīdsāhā-kī bētī-kā bihāw pahilē huā Us-kī
is-to-be-sent ' The-king-of son-of marriage first became His
 barīt badō dhūm-su āi-chhī Phir us-kū ek bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kī dōst-kī yād āi-chhī Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came Then he his-own wife-to
 kahi-chhī kī, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kō yahā jā-kō āw, mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come, my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhī ' O phēr Birbal-kī yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
promise become-is ' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kī gai-chhī Us-kū raste-mā chār chōr milē-chhē Us-kā
taken-having went Her-to street-in four thieves met Her
 sab dāginā utārē-rahī Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mēra
all ornaments taking-off-they-were Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 dāginā kā utārē-chhē ? Mē kō Birbal-kō hā-sō ā-jān-dē,
ornaments why art-taking-off ? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come ;
 phir mēra sab dāginā utar-lē ' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'ya bī
then my all ornaments take-off ' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs hai-chhī ' Yēk chor wahā bairhā Tin chor gayē chōri
well said ' One thief there sat Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū Phir yā gai Birbal-kī yahā Birbal-nē us-kō
committing-for Then she went Birbal's here Birbal-by her-as-to
 dekhi-chhī Palang-par bathāi-chhē Bathā-kō apnē dil-mē
she-was-seen A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kī, 'badśāhī sāhnē-bī ' uttēhi chhē aur gawār-bī
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttēhī chhē, kē apnī śēj-kī bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē '
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is '

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē dīn ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou

bhān huī-chhē Wō mērā bahinōi huwā ' Wajīr-nē
sister become-art He my brother-in-law became ' The-minister-by

us kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhārī pāch dāginē
her-to a veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā' Bāi rastē-sū chālī
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go ' The-lady the-street-by went

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was Him-to the-lady-by it was-said, 'my

sab dāginē utār-lē Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāsti milē-chhē '
all ornaments take-off Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Utti bāt-chit hō rahī-chhē tō tīn chōr āyē-chhē Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came Them-to

aisī chōrī milī-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not The-thieves by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lagā Ham-kū chōrī khub milī-chhē Tō ham sū
good has been-proved Us-to theft great obtained-was Therefore us-from

pāch dāginē lē-lē ' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē Phir
five ornaments take ' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were Then

badśāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē Bādśāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

ohār-mā kis-kā badā chhē ? '
the-four-among whose great is ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a Prime Minister named Birbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. The two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Birbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Birbal's house, carrying in her hand the five illumination lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all her ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Birbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approve of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

She went on to Birbal's house. Birbal, as soon as he saw her, made her fast upon a bed and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool, for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and some valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The word 'refuse' should be 'refuse' as it is used in the original. The king is also similarly confused with the word.

BELDĀRĪ

Beldār literally means one who works with the *bāl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Beldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows —

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,378
Elsewhere	3,787
TOTAL	205,420

The majority of these Beldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Beldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Beldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Beldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Beldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows —

Rajputana, Jaisalmer State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	<hr/>
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,500
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghurs	200
	<hr/>
	3,155
TOTAL	5,140

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Beldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmer State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features Like Ōdkī it is a mixture The prevailing elements are Marāthī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēḷē*, sons (Ramdurg), *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir), *daūs*, to a father (Buldana), *mansān*, to a man (Ramdurg), *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg), the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sū*, from a direction (Jaisalmir), *uthand-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur), the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons, *chhōḷō*, small (Ellichpur), *ghōḷō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog, compare also *ghōrē*, horses, *ghōriyā*, mares), the dative suffixes *-nē* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir), *-nā*, *nū* (Jaisalmir), *-lē* (Buldana) and *-lu* (Ellichpur), compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kū*, the genitive suffix *-lō*, *-lā*, *-li* (Ellichpur, Buldana), compare Mēwātī, Jaipuri and Mālvi *-lō*, *-li*, the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*, compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*, the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*, forms such as *marū*, I die, *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur), *mai ē-hē*, I am dying (Jaisalmir), *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Oriyā, and the common *mōi*, *mōi a*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōdkī With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement, thus the pronoun *tudā*, thy, conjunctive participles such as *kantī*, having done, and so forth Note the curious form *mēi ē-lu*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakkhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-lē*, with the same meaning

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur

[No 5]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

BĒLDĀRĪ

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Ēk admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā hāpē
One man-of two sons were Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō husā avē, ō mōhū dē'
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī Phir thōdē dīn-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dū dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīvō Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given Him-by all spent-on
 ōrē mulak-mē bahōr dukāl padō, ō-nē paisā-kī rdchan padan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-fall
 lāgī Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk gūha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē dukai charā-nē bhējō Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in squire feeding-for was-sent Then
 dukar jō tarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt, bhar-nō,
squire which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asī ō-kē man-mē āī, ō-nē kachhu kōhī didā nahī
thus his mind-in came, him-to anything by-anyone was-given not
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpūr rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū Me uth-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ō dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahnē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done Now from thy son to say
 lāvak mī nahīyā Ēk mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh'"
worthy I not-am One servant like me keep'"

The next specimen hails from Buldana It is of the same kind as the preceding.
 It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem
 to be quite accurate I give the text as I have received it

[No 6]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn	ēk	duhī	lāwdā	hōtā	Dunun-mē-sē	lahānā	
<i>Some</i>	<i>one(-of)</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Both-in-from</i>	<i>by-younger-one</i>	
daūs	kahlā,	'daū,	mōrē	hussā-kī	jugī	ma-kē	dē'
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>'father,</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>share-of</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>give'</i>
Mhanūn	daū-na	jugī	dunun-kē	bāt	dī	Thōra	din-mē
<i>Therefore</i>	<i>father-by</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>both-to</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days-in</i>
lahānā	āplī	jugī	lē-kan	dusrē	gāw-pē	gēla	Yā-sē
<i>small-one</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>village-to</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>This-from</i>
gēla	āpna	jugī	chain-se	udāi	Yē	ritī-sē	pausa
<i>went</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>merry-making-in</i>	<i>was wasted</i>	<i>This</i>	<i>way-in</i>	<i>money</i>
chain-mē	udāē,	mang	badā	kāl	gira	Kāl	gīrla
<i>merry-making-in</i>	<i>were-wasted,</i>	<i>afterwards</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>famine</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>Famine</i>	<i>fell</i>
mhanjē	pañchāil	gīrla	Khāē-kē	mang	jāy-kūn	dusrē-kē	
<i>then</i>	<i>difficulty</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>Eating-for</i>	<i>begging</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>another-of</i>	
gharē	raha	Wō-nē	dukhar	rākhē-kē	dharī	Wō-kē	gharē
<i>in-house</i>	<i>remained</i>	<i>His-by</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>tending-for</i>	<i>was-kept</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>in-house</i>
kōndā	dukhar-kā	khāēl	u-ch	āpnē	kōndā	khāēl	dēēl tar pēt
<i>husks</i>	<i>swine-of</i>	<i>ate</i>	<i>that-even</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>husks</i>	<i>ate</i>	<i>gave then belly</i>
bharēl,	wuhī	ō-nē	diil	nahī	Yē-lartā	ākh	ughad gayī,
<i>filled,</i>	<i>that-even</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>This-for</i>	<i>eyes</i>	<i>opened went,</i>
tab	āpnē-kē	kah	lagā,	'āpna	dāū-kē	jōd	naukar pausā
<i>then</i>	<i>himself-to</i>	<i>to-say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>'own</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>servants money</i>
ur-kan	purī,	mī	yāsā	upāsī	marna	Āb	jā-kan
<i>being-to-spare</i>	<i>was-filled,</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>this-like</i>	<i>by-hunger</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>having-gone</i>
dāū-kē	kahus,	"dāū,	dēw-kā	tōra	aprādh	fār	mē-nē karē
<i>father-to</i>	<i>will-say,</i>	<i>"father,</i>	<i>God-of</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>me-by was-done</i>
Mī	tōra	lāwdā	hōv-kan	lēā-kā	dayā	nihē	Tē āpnā majur
<i>I thy</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>taking-of</i>	<i>mercy</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>Thou</i>	<i>own servant</i>
sārkhā	bagā''	Asē	vichār	kar-kan	āpnē	dāū-kē	attē
<i>like</i>	<i>consider''</i>	<i>So</i>	<i>consideration</i>	<i>made-having</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>
āla	Wō	ātā-ch	dūr-sē	dāū-nē	dekhē,	wō kē	dayā āil,
<i>came</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>coming</i>	<i>far-from</i>	<i>father-by</i>	<i>was-scen,</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>mercy came,</i>
āpnē	lāwdā-kē	garē-mē	hāt	dālī,	wō-nē'	mukā	lēī
<i>own</i>	<i>son-of</i>	<i>neck-on</i>	<i>hands</i>	<i>were-ths own,</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>kisses</i>	<i>were-taken</i>

L

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī ' Dāū-nē
was-made Now thy son come-to my mercy not ' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dārī
best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes we-e-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyalā, 'āj āpan
Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piē-kē chain karē, kāran āj mōra lāwdā
having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make, because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla, 1b wō āj
died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came, and he to-day
 gēla, tē 'sāpadla' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē
went, he was-found' Then all joy to-make began

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmer State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Bēldārs in the rainy season, the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōlī festival. The Bēldārī of Jaisalmer is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsā-chē*, of a man, *dēsā-chē*, of a country, *Rāmā chē*, of God, *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmer specimens. The general nature of the Bēldārī of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No 7]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōrī kalhyān umatti, ālā mhī, bharlē nādē nādiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled

Bhīm talāw

Bhīm tank

Sātā sālā-chē jhūlrē gēli pānī talāw, sāt sahiā pūthi
Seven female-friends of in-company went water tank, seven friends back

bharti gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank

Pachchham dīshā-sū ōthī ālā
Western direction-from camel-rider came

‘Bījō sahiā rē kājal tībhiā, tudē kā bringē
‘Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty

bēsh ‘

dress ?

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs’

‘Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad’

‘Gharā patak-dē talā-mā, ā māchī lārē’

‘Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmri lūn’

‘I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt’

‘Hak ōthī manā kahē, māri sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchī

‘One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār” ‘Kē sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē unār?’

with” ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchī nandal-chē unār’

‘My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband’s-sister-of features’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jibri, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār’

‘I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank
Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her —

‘The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads
Why is your dress dirty?’

(She replied—)

‘The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad’

(Then he said—)

‘Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me’

(She replied—)

‘I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it’

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

‘A camel *sōvā* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like?’

(She replied—)

‘He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband’s sister’

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

‘I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband’

[No. 8]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ

STATE JAISALMER

SPECIMEN II.

Har uth milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
Har *having-arisen* *having-embraced* *Bharata* *brother,* *Har* *came*
 uth milti-kē
having-arisen *having-embraced*

Bāh pasāitī millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nīr ralaktī
Arms *having-extended* *embraced* *both* *brothers,* *eyes-in* *water* *rolling*
 ālā
came.

‘Kē nī rē bhāū ban-khanda-chyā bātā, kēri kēri bīpat
 ‘*Sayst* *not* *O* *brother* *woods-of* *tales,* *what* *what* *mishap*
 bhugattī ālā’
having-suffered *camest*’

‘Ban phal khāelā pān bichhāelā, ēri ēri bīpat
 ‘*Forest* *fruits* *were-eaten* *leaves* *were-spread,* *such* *such* *mishap*
 bhugattī ālā’
having-suffered *came*’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears

(Bharata asked) ‘Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest, what kind of troubles you had to undergo?’

(Rāma said) ‘The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured’

The Beldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration

[No 9]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRI

STATE RAMDURG

Ekē bā-nē dōn bētē hlall Vē-chī nēnkē bētē-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were Them-of younger son-by father to
 kēlē, 'jungānī-ma mana bātnī da' Dō-janī bētēyān bātnī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dūlī Kaī-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saglī jundgī hlilī
making were-given Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gītī lambē mulkān gēlā Uda jātī manān wātal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēlī Uda jātī kāl padlā Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done There going famine fell Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōt chintam padlā Vē mulkā-mē ēkē mānsān jātī vē mānsāē
great anxiety fell That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malhī gītī vē mānsā-nē dukrē rākhnē-nā mellā Vē
him appointing taking that man by some keeping-for was-sent That
 baktān vēn dukar khānyā-chō junnas-jōku dēkhun mlal nahī
time-at him-to some eaten husks even was-got not

ŌDKI

The Ōds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers, in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ōds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows —

Madras	550,109
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,639
Bhawan	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ōd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *ōdda*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *ōdde*, drudgery, *ōdderāndlu*, tank diggers. As most Ōds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vādars.

The majority of the Ōds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ōds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was —

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,814

Specimens of Ōdkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ōds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Ōd or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated'. The Ōds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōds of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows —

Ahmedabad	1,260
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikantla	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,419
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278

TOTAL 10,571

It will be seen that the Ōds were practically restricted to districts where Gujarāṭī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōdkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōds have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōds of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōdkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp 178ff will give a good idea of the nature of the Marāṭhī affinities. dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāṭhī, compare *talē*, tank, *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*, thus, *ghōi ā*, horse, *ghōi ē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *i* of feminine bases, thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country, *leikē-chē*, of a man, *mallatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs, thus, *gēlā*, went, *mārlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*, thus, *āvā*, come, the infinitives in *ũ* and *ṇē*, thus, *kēhũ*, to say, *mārnē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population

Several of the usual terminations in Ōdkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi, the ablative in *tī*, the locative in *mā*, forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārṡārī *hē*), *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is, the conjunctive participle is *tinē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārṡārī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *r* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh, the Pañjābī dative termination *nū* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No 10]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖDKI

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōydē salē Nē dhāydē chhōydē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō nē dē' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāydā
property having-divided was-given And few days after the-younger
 chhōydā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē padē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 rang-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji udadtī dēli,
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given
 Nē ōnē badhē kharahtī nākhlē tyāi-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 motē dukāl padlā nē ōnē badī tankśāl padwā lāgli Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began And he
 jātinē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē padē rēhlā
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhundōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkallā Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent And
 jō sīngā bhundā khātīgē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bharlē-sāru ōnī
which hushs swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichchhā salī Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī Nē ō sāvchit
wish was And by-anyone him-to was-given not And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how many servants-to
 pushkal badā chhē, pan hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē, hē-tō uthtīnē
plenty bread is, but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am, I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē padē jai, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē, nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is, and this-in your
 chhōydā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā, ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to be-called fit I not-am, me you servants-in-of one-of
 jāśā gan'' Nē ō uthtīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē padē gēlā Nē ō
like count'' And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went And he

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	mē	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōlangli		na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśi	karlē	
transgressed		not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making	
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	bākrē	pan	kadi	dēlē	nī-thē	Pan
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kind	even	ever	given	not-icas	Bul
ā	tadhā	chhōydā	ōnī	tadhī	puñji	kasabēnō-che	hāthi	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamātī		nākhli		ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	nwaļ
squandered		was-thrown-away		he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good
jyāfat	karli '	Nē	ōnī		kēlē	kē,	' chhōydā,	
a-feast	was-done '	And	by-him		it-icas-said	that,	' son,	
tū	māchī-sāthē	mti	chhē ,	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhō	
thou	me-of-with	always	at ,	and	my	all	thine	
chhē	Āplē-tō	khuś	anē		nālje	tathā	harakh	
is	Our-undeed	pleased	to-become		is-proper	and	merriment	
karnā	nālje	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharati	jīwtā	halā	chhē ,	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ,	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē '				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is '				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōds in order to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōds.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I 111ff.

[No II]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖDKI

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD

Sadrāō Jēsaugē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisingh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khantinē pānīvā-thī rāt-kī-rāti-māy talē bhar-dē' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōdtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 mā-nē khōwād' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, pan
me cause-to-loose' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puthē wāltinē dēkhū nahī' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was given Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhīgī halī Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puthā wal' Sadrāwī asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn' Siddhrāō by thus it-was said that, 'I thy way leave
 nītā' Tārē bāiē dharti mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am' Then the woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī sntī hōi, tō tū bhēgi mā jā' Dharti bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go' Earth together
 halī Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū mādlā Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
became Then Siddhrāō cry to raise began Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhi bān chhē' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē, pan tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē' Pachhē Jāhmā
is, but thy offspring not remains' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ōdā-nē malli Pachhē ō
to-Khalikhōlwādē having-come all Ōds-to was-joined Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōdtinē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēdlē, pan māchī tachli āgalīē jētnē rūp kōi ōdā-chi dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Ōd-of girl-to
 nā dīō'
not give'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank Then Siddhrāj came to Jāsmā and joined her Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāj said that he would not desist from pursuing her Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you' Then the Earth came close to her Siddhrāj raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain' Then Jāsmā went to Khālikholwad and joined the Ôds Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ôd girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ô's there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*, thus, *dēicā*, give, *dādī*, grandmother, *dī*, day

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ôds

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKĪ

CUTCH STATE

- ‘Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām Tamñ kathē-thī āwā sawā ?’
 ‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām You where-from come are ?’
- ‘Hē Chaprērī-tī āvñ sñ’
 ‘I Chaprērī-from coming am’
- ‘Warsāti-mñ tamñ ghanē hērān halñ sawā Tamñ sārū
 ‘Rain-in you much troubled become are You for
 sigrī karñ ? Thōrī wār tāphā tō tamō-nē
 fire shall-I-make ? Little time you-will-warm-yourselves then you-to
 sukh havī Tamñ sārū kñ rasōi karāvñ ?’
 comfort will-be You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made ?’
- ‘Mācchē i tññ kñ khāwō naitē’
 ‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted)’
- ‘Sāw kñ khālē vīgar chālē ? Thōrē ghanē jū
 ‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do ? Little much what
 bhāvē sū khāwā’
 may-please that eat’
- ‘I-mñ tō ma-nñ tras lāgli sē Pāñ pīwñ
 ‘This-in indeed me-to this st joined is Water to-drink
 dēwā’
 give’
- ‘Tam-chñ lūgrñ thōpik wār tirkē sūkwñ mēlñ ?’
 ‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put ?’
- ‘Bhalñ, mēlā’
 ‘Well, put’
- ‘Tamñ sārū kñ rasōi karāvñ ?’
 ‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made ?’
- ‘Mñ tamā-nñ kēlē sē kē bhūkh nñ lāgli.’
 ‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got’
- ‘Thōrik khichrī nñ bār khātī ghēwā’
 ‘Little khichrī and bread eating take’
- ‘Tam-chī marjī sē ta bhalñ, karāwā’
 ‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared’
- ‘Tam-chē gharñ badhñ-y rājī-khusī sī ?’
 ‘Your in-house all happy-glad are ?’

'Badhē-y thik sī, pan māchī dādi parmā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 martī gēli'
dying went'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlē ?'

'Her-to what had-happened ?'

'Chār dī tāw ālā'

'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēh halē sī ?'

'Your field-in crops how become are ?'

'Ōn warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thī jhājhē halē naitē'

'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not'

'Tā dhagē-chē kitrē nānē dilē ?'

'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given ?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēshā'

'Me-to with-a-half four hundred lōris were-expended'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā ?'

'These bullocks you will-sell ?'

'Pūrē nāpē dēwā tō vēchīnē'

'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell'

'Tamā-nē hē tīn sō kōriā diē'

'You-to I three hundred lōris may-give'

'Tīn sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchā ?'

'Three hundred lōris-in what can-they-be-sold ?'

'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagē mōtē sī Sū itri kīmat

'I knowing am that bullocks old are That so-much price

ghapī sē.

much is'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā ?'

'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do ?'

'Māchī dādi-chī warsī warti raigē tē wāsē

'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī ?'

I-shall-do ?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujti rēwā'

'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dhrang pōchnē sē'

'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is'

'Pachhē-wari kē dī am-chē gharē āwājā'

'Again some day our to-house come'

'Khāsẽ, Rām-Rām, i-mẽ hẽ jāĩ'
 'Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go'
 'Tam-chẽ gharẽ badhũ-nẽ Rām-Rām kējā.'
 'Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

'Come and take a seat Welcome Whence are you coming?'

'I am coming from Chapreri'

'You must have been much troubled by the rain Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable What food may I order for you?'

'I do not now want any food'

'It won't do that you should not take any food Take only as much as you like'

'Just now I am thirsty Give me water to drink'

'Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?'

'Yes, if you please'

'What food shall I order to be prepared for you?'

'I have told you that I am not hungry'

'Just take a little *Lhichrĩ* and bread'

'If that be your wish, get it prepared'

'Are all well in your house?'

'All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday'

'What was the matter with her?'

'She had fever for four days'

'How are the crops in your field?'

'There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much'

'What did you pay for these bullocks?'

'I paid four hundred and fifty *kōrīs*'

'Will you sell these bullocks?'

'I will if you give a good price'

'I will pay three hundred *kōrīs*'

'How can they be sold for three hundred *kōrīs*?'

'I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price'

'In what month are you going to have your daughter married?'

'I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother's death is over'

'Rest in our house to-night'

'No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset'

'Come to our house some other day'

'Very well Adieu I am off now'

'Give my compliments to all in your house'

The dialect of the Ōds of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōds of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night, *ghōr-kāṇu*, house-doing, hawking, *mājō*, my, and so on. The Pānjābī termination of the dative *nā* has already been mentioned, compare *khurī-nā*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *māi hē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat, plur 1 *mārkhū*, 2 *mārkhā*, 3 *māi hē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *lō nī*, not at all), compare *kāhī ūē-nā kō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave, *kō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKĪ

DISTRICT HYDERABAD

Mai sākhe pari kahē Mājō nā ohhō Hashū Mājē bā-jā
I oath on state My name is Hashū My father-of
 nā Thadā Mai Hindū-dharam ohhō, luhānā ohhō Mājā pōrihā
name Thadā I Hindū am, luhānā am My profession
 ghōr-karanu ohhō. Mājī umuri chāhisi baras ohhō Mai Hadrābādī
hauling is My age forty years is I Hyderabad
 gūū Hadrābādī taulkē Hadrābādī jillē bīhūlē Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in talūga Hyderabad in-district live My complaint
 ohhō Wasanmalā-par Subhānō hēkē bajō rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on Yesterday one when-stuck night-of
 tikānē-mī jīlēlā Gharē bātē ūparī dodī-hatu chhūlē
abode(-of-a-faqir)-in went Home way on cuds seller-shop was
 Ū-kaddhū dūdhu ghēlē Ūthē jawābudār ālā, ālē siri mājī
That-from cuds were-taken There' accused came, come on my
 sājī khurī-nū thudā mārīlā Māi u-nū kahūlē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-stuck By-me him-to it was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē ' Jak ī-māthō mā-nū lūgāi ā dhū-parī galī
blind become-art? ' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dīhūlā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā Māi dailā, nastī-patā
were given, blow having-threatened fight-to came I feared, far-off
 hulā Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhī-pailē Tadhi jawābdāra
became Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came Then accused-by
 basī-karī, na-ta mā-nū mūrē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made, otherwise me would-have-stuck Accused-with formerly
 mājī dushmanī kōnī
my enmity not

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath My name is Hāshū and my father's name is Thadā I am a Hindū by religion, and I am a Lohānā My profession is hawking My age is forty years I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Hyderabad *talūqa*, Hyderabad District My complaint is against Wasanmal Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqir On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight I became afraid and stood far off Hōtū, Nārū and Rīghū intervened, and then the accused desisted Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ödkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ödkī illustrated in the preceding pages The cerebration of *d* in *dō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhī There are also some Panjābī reminiscences such as *randē-nā*, to the wife, *bā-dā*, of a father On the whole, however, the Ödkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāthī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī The form *hullā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāthī *hōtā*

[No 14]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖDKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH

Hek bādshāh hutti Ō chē gharē olād kār na hutti Ō
One King was His in-house offspring any not was He
 apni bādshāhī chhor-hiti o hek roz mirgā ūpar nitī bēlā Fakir
one Kingdōm let a day way on going sat Faqir
 jurti-kē dhuñ ghalti belā Hek rōz jhund fakirā-ohā ālā
Kingdōm turned spoke making sat One day group faqirs-of came
 Ō nē kehle, 'tū cthe mirgī-par kahñ bēlā?' Bādshāh
Told by it-was-said, 'thou this way on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehle, 'amī mahā kin kahī na pūchha' Fakirē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask' The-faqirs-by
 kehle, 'amī puchhñ' Bādshāh kehle jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'me ask' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 olād kār nahī?' Fakirē kehle, 'dō tapāsē chhit
offspring any not-is?' The faqirs by it-was-said, 'two sweets break
 Hek ip khī, hek apnē randē-nū khullā Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife to cause-to-eat Her-to one son borne
 hōwē, mātthē-par chñid hōwē, chichī-par tārā hōwē
will-be, forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē put jāhā Ō-chē gharē dō randā hutyā,
King of in-house son was-borne His in-house two wives were,
 jissē mōtī hutti, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā Jissi dhārī rand
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got Which younger wife
 hutti, vi-nē bithārī-nū kehle, 'ē bār gūti dē'
was, her-by midwife to it-was-said, 'this child killing give'
 Bithārī chhij kolā-chē bharti-kē vi-chē gōdhñ mchhiti gēli Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went Child
 chatti-kē rūrī-par nāk-ti āli Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap on having-thrown returned King-to
 kehle, 'tudhya randē kolē jālē' Kuttī bhūli
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth' Bitch standing
 bādshāh chī hutti, bārā-nū chatti chali apnē bhāwarē-mē
King-of was, child having-carried went own put-in
 nitti nāklē Hek do sāl gurrē Ū bār rū lāglē
going was-thrown One two years passed That child to-cry began

Bādshāhzādī-nū	pattā	lāglā	‘E	bāiā-nū	marātī	nākhā	Kutti
Queen-to	news	was-got	‘This	child	killing	throw	Bitch
bhullī	sunlē	Bār-kū	chattī-kō	khūnī	ghōrī-chē	āgū	āntī
standing	heard	Child	having-carried	bloody	horse-of	before	bringing
nāklē	Ō	jawān	huttā	Bādshāh-nū	pattā	lāglā	Ō
was-thrown	He	youth	became	King-to	news	was-got	He
gharē	gēti	gallā,	ghanē	khushī	karlī,	wadā	dān-pun
in-house	taking	was-put,	much	rejoicing	was-made,	great	alms
karlā							
were-made							

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, ‘do not ask me any question’. The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, ‘take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger’. Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the oldest wife’s house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King’s bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhaṅg*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows —

Bombay	11,761
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Bhawār	1,132
TOTAL	<u>35,552</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lādi was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lādi of Ellichpur is Eastern Rājasthānī, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀDĪ

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka duī pōrgā hōtā U-kī mandhun labān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō karī tākyō Mag
give' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown Then
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō, ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb karī tākyō
went, and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell That
 mulē u-kha phār adchan padī Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō, un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō Mag
living-for went, by-him him some feeding-for field-in was-sent Then
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha
some which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātyō, mag u-kha kōnī kēhī dīvō nahī Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kīti naukar-kha pōt bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōtī bhēta-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē'
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am'

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows.—

Panjab		48,170
Ferozepur	45,000	
Gurdaspur	2,000	
Gujrat	1,170	
United Provinces		3,380
Saharanpur	3,000	
Kheri	380	
	TOTAL	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *lā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thō*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The position *gā* refers us rather to the Bagri dialect of Rājasthān than to Hindostānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Mayi. [G A G]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ēk*, but Hindōstānī *ēk*, Prakrit *pitthi*, back, Pañjābī *piṭh*, but Hindōstānī *piṭh*. The Śāśī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī, compare *ēkk*, one, *naḥk*, nose, *hāth*, hand, *piṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *mut*, back, *lanthā*, ear, *kuḥ*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Śāśī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Śāśī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Śāśī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Śāśīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Śāśī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Śāśī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened

Pronunciation

as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign *˘*, thus, *bappā-gṁ̄*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added, thus, *āllh*, eye, *kann*, ear, *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *ātā*, coming, *chugāṇē*, to graze, *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *u* occurs in forms such as *liyyā*, done, *diyyā*, given, *hūvicā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *ʿain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūvicā*, become, is almost *ʿūcā*, *ghōrā*, horse, is almost *gʿōrā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine.

Nouns

The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ū*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gā*, ablative *thō*, and genitive *gā*, feminine *gī*, plural *gā*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *lō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *lā*, *lī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bāpp*, father, *kūtā*, dog; and *dhiā*, daughter, are as follows —

	Singular			Plural		
Nominative	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhiā</i>	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhiā</i>
Genitive	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtā-gā</i>	<i>dhiā-gā</i>	<i>bāppē gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhiē gā</i>
Agent	<i>bāppē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhiē</i>	<i>bāppē-ōnō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōnō</i>	<i>dhiē-ōnō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *icaddiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Pañjābī genitive suffix.

Pronouns

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns —

	I	We	Thou	You.
Nominative	<i>haū</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taī</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat -Accusative	<i>manē</i>	<i>ham lō</i>	<i>tanē</i>	<i>tam lō</i>
Ablative	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mhārā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *en*, case of the agent singular *en*, plural *enō*, *uh*, *oh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tīāgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōnā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows —

Verbs.

Singular	1 <i>haī</i>	Plural	1 <i>hā</i>
	2 <i>haī</i>		2 <i>hō</i>
	3 <i>hai</i>		3 <i>haī</i>

The past tense is singular masc *thīyyā*, fem *thīyyī*, plural masc *thīyyē*, fem *thīyyīā* or *sīyyā*, fem *sīyyī*, plural masc *sīyyē*, fem *sīyyīā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive, thus, *haũ māĩ ē*, I may beat, *baĩ e*, he may enter, *khāhā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle, thus, *ham māĩ te hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārā hōlā haĩ*, I am being beaten, *haũ mārā lartā haĩ*, I am doing beating, *haũ mārā rihā haĩ*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive, thus, *haũ gava*, I went, *tam gaĩ*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent, thus, *hamō mārā*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārā thīyyā* (or *sīyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārā thīyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future—The suffix of the future is *gā*, preceded by an *n* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārā*, to beat, are —

Singular	1 <i>mārangrā</i>	Plural	1 <i>mārangrē</i>
	2 <i>mārangrā</i>		2 <i>mārangrē</i>
	3 <i>mārangrā</i>		3 <i>mārangrē</i>

and *mārang*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Mandeālī, Sukūtī and Bilaspūrī. Compare Mandeālī *mārang* or *mānglā*, I shall beat, Bilaspūrī *mārangrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī, thus, *mār*, beat, *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *nā*, thus, *mārnā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *nā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhī *nu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī, thus, *mārtā*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī, thus, *mārā*, beaten, *lahiā*, said, though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*, thus, *jāĩ*, having gone, *mārī-īē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*, thus, *ai-gē*, having come, *dēhlī-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī, thus, *haũ mārā jattā haĩ*, I am beaten, *haũ mārā jattā thīyyā* (*sīyyā*), I was beaten, *haũ mārā jāngrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr T. Grahame Bailey.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI

ORDINARY DIALECT

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey)

NORTHERN PANJAB

1 kki bandē-gē dō pūt thivvē Un bichchā nikē
 One man-of two sons were Them among by-the-little
 happā gū kaluā, 'hāpp, mālkiā-gā jhārā hissa ma-nū
 father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 itā har, ma-nū dē' Un apnā sārā māl un-kō batī
 coming is, me-to give' By-him own all property them-to dividing
 divyā Thōrē dinē-gē pichhō nikē mūndē sārā kujh
 was-given Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 kattiā kiāā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāī rihā Ōthē
 together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed There
 sārā māl bhairē kammē bichch urāī dīnā Jad
 all property evil words in causing-to-fly was-given When
 sārā kharch karī linā, us mulkhā bichch barā kāl pariā,
 all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 te ōh sūrā pānē laggā Tad us mulkhā-gē ēkkī ādmā-gē
 and he narrow to-fall began Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jūī apriā Un apniē pailē bichch sūr chugānē ghalhī,
 near going arrived By him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 te ōh chhullū jhārā sūr khattē thivvē apnā pēt bharnē-gū chītī
 and he hush which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thivv, par kōī nahī dētā thivvī Tad hōshā bichch āgē
 was, but anyone not giving was Then sense in having-come
 kinnē laggā, 'mōre happā pās kinnē marjūrē-gu bahut tūk
 to eat began, 'n' father near how-many hired labourers-to much food
 hū te nūī bhukhā martī hāī Hū uthigē apnē happā pās
 we, and I hungry dying am I having-arisen own father near
 jūī tē un-kō kahngē "hē happ, māī shamīnā-gā tē tērā gunīh
 will do and him to will-see "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 hūī, te is jūī nahī kī bhī tērī pūt akhwāwē,
 will do and this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nũ apnẽ majurẽ bichchā ékki jidā banā'' Tad uthigē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.'' Then *having-arisen*
 apnẽ bappā pās turā, tē ōh ajē dūr hi thīyyā kī us-kō
own father near went, and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigē us-kē bappā-gū tars āyā, tē daurigē gal lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-in neck pressed and
 barā chumīā Pūtẽ us-kō kahiā kī, 'hē bāpp, māi
much kissed By-son him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh kiyyā tē iw haũ is jōgā nahĩ kī
heaven-of and thy son was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwẽ' Bappẽ apnẽ naukārẽ-gū kahiā kī,
again thy son may-be-called' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'changīā thõ changī pushāk kadhi lē-āo tē is-kō lāo, tē
'fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kē haththā bichch chhāp tē pairẽ bichch jutti, tē palē hūwwē
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhẽ-gū lē-āigē halāl karō, kī khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā, kyũ, mērā ěā pūt mari gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make, why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai, gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā' Tad ōh khushī karnē
is, lost gone was, now finding fell' Then they merry to-make
 laggē
begin

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā, jad gharā-gē nērē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was, when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaunē tē naehnē-gā wāj suniā, tē ékki naukārā thõ pūchhiā kī,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 'ěā kyā hai?' Un us-kō kahiā kī, 'tērā bhāi āyā, tē
'this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother came, and
 tērẽ bappẽ paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwwā hai, is
by-thy 'father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstē kī rāzī-bāzī labbhā' Un gussē hōigē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found' By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā kī andar barē Tad us-kē bappẽ bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go Then him-of by-father outside
 āigē us-kō manāyā Un bappā-gū jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded By-him father-to answer was-given,
 'dēkh innẽ warhẽ-gī haũ tērī tahl kartā haĩ, tē kadhi tērē
'lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barbhulāf nahī turā, par taī kadhī ékk lēlā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
 dinā kī haū apnē yārē sāthth khushī manāē, par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make, but when thy
 ēā pūt āyā jun tērā māl kanjriē bichch udāvā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kū livjē palā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā ' Un
him of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made' By him
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mēiē pās haī, jō-kujjh mērā
him to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art, whatever mine
 hai, sōi tērā hai Par khushī manāni tē khush hōnā chāhitā
is, that-even thine is But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thīyyā, kyū, tērā ēā bhāi marī gayā thīvyā, iw jīwiā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai, gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labbhā hai '
is, lost gone was, now found is'

[No 17]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SÂSI

ORDINARY DIALECT

SPECIMEN II

(Dr T Grahame Batley)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pīr	lagē	jattē	thiyyē,	ékkī	gā
Our	two	savnts	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
manṅnē	gaū ;	ékkī	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	mangā,	un
to-beg	went,	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked,	by-her
nahī	dinā,	uh	turī	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā	Un	kajjiā	dēkhiā	kī	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	magar	daurī	Unō	kāhū,	'jā
went,	she	then	after	ran	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā'	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go'	She
gharē	āi	tē	dēkhiā,	tē	dúddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	said,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thiyyā						becoming
gone	was						
Unī	dō	pīrē	ékk	karāmāt	kī,	ékkī	
By-those-very	two	savnts	one	miracle	was-done,	by-one	
arkā	sathth	dōph	puttī,	bhī	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhī	un	dūjjē-gō	kāhū	kī,	'maī	puttī,	taū
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	thou
is-kō	bhī	sarā-jit	kar'	Bhī	un	haddiā	kattthiā,
it	again	alive	make'	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kāhnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daurī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā,'	bhī	uh	daurī	gai	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go,'	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
un	dōē	pīrē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malang
those	two	savnts-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malang
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malangā-gā	māmā	thiyyā			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malang-of	mother's-brother	was			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Two of our saints were going along They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be

Those two saints did a miracle One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away' Then it ran away and became alive again The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malang, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malang's maternal uncle

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known Specimens have been received from Saharanpūr and Kherī They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kherī, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsīyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces It is practically Hindōstānī It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsīyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages

[No 18]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

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 FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees for the cattle as I had not got them. I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. After some time I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *ram* and *Ram* rods (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, 'I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.' The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took my mother's leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī, some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave'. In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārāī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *lūlar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlt*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit* pill, *charāwā*, advocate, *lit* herdsman, *lhurā*, lower part of leg, *lit* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages, thus, *bāimī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permī*, *nād*, village, with Kānarese *nādu*, country, Gōndī *nār*, village, *lalli*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *lābrā* instead of *balrā*, goat, *lhūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face, *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker, *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carving caste, *tēp* instead of *pēt*, belly, *tīph* instead of *pitth*, back, *baḥat* instead of *bataḥ*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *lha* in front we get *lhadas* and finally *lhas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *lhabāl* and *chhabāl*, hair, *pair*, *lhapair*, *chhapair* and *nhan*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows —

l added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *lu*, *lō*, with a following *ā* *lō*, thus, *luḥḥī*, Pañjābī *akḥḥī*, eye, *loḥḥ*, Pañjābī *akḥḥ*, eye, *lundar* and *andar*, inside, *luggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of, *lōttā* and *ātā*, flour, *lōḥ*=*āth*, eight, *lōdmī*=*ādmī*, man, *lōnnā*=*ānā*, anna.

lh is also sometimes added before vowels, thus, *lhassī*=*assī*, eighty, *lhūpar*=*ūpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *lha* added before words

beginning with consonants, thus, *lhatm*, three, *lhadand*, tooth, *lhadas*, ten, *lhanāl*, nose, *lhanāũ*, nine, *lhapan*, foot, *lhamāĩ*, by me, *lharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *lha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word, thus, *lhuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf Hindostānī *gantā*, *lhas*=*das*, ten, *lhaũ*=*nan*, nine, *lhakl*=*nakl*, nose, *lhigalnā*=*nakalnā*, to come out, *lhīs*=*bīs*, twenty, *lhũh*=*mũh*, mouth, *lhikhnā*=*likhnā*, to write, *lhōth*=*hāth*, hand

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz *gupāhī*=*supāhī*, soldier

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b*, thus, *chatānā*=*batānā*, to show, *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chaĩ*, water, may be for *pāuĩ*, compare Kōlhatī *chēnī*. In Western Puhārī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water

chh is quite common, thus, *chhakān*=*kann*, ear, *chhapān*=*pān*, foot, *chhabāmī*=*bāmī*, woman, *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father, *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother, *chhabham* and *bhān*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant, thus, *chhūt*, *chhaputt* and *pūt*, son, *chhauht*=*bahut*, much, *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsī man, *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside, *chhajak*=*balak*, tomorrow, *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door, *chhathrā*=*raathrā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr Bailev restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakann*, ear, *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin, *chhaghar*, house, *chhawāt*, woman, *chhakann*, who? *chhakayā*, what? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh*, thus, *jadā*=*bāā*, big, *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūhā*, hungry

dh is comparatively frequent, thus, *dhagal*=*gal*, neck, *ghanēē*=*nēē*, near, *dhabān*=*bān*, sister, *dhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father, *dhamulk*=*mulk*, country. In *dhāmāĩ*, village, *dh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dimnā*=*gimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way

n is a common substitute for various sounds, thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty, *nōĩ*=*chōrī*, theft, *nūiyā*=*chūiyā*, bird, *neōllā*=*chhōlrā*, boy, *nīlaf*=*tīlaf*, ticket, *nōmbū*=*tōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument, *naukhnā*=*dēkhnā*, see, *nañj*=*pañj*, five, *naīhnā*=*pāīhnā*, read, *nūchhna*=*pūchhna*, ask, *nair*=*pān*, foot, *nagg*=*pāgg*, turban, *nēt*=*pēt*, belly, *nōhal*=*bōhal*, heap of gram, *nāllī*=*lāllī*, night, *nadhūk*=*sandūq*, box, *nāhb*=*sāhb*, sāhib, *naiḥ*=*shāhī*, city, *nūraj* or *nhūraj*=*sūraj*, sun, *nāth*=*sāth*, with

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s*, thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six, *nhōdnā*=*chhōdnā*, leave, *nhōllē*=*chhōlle*, gram, *nhik*=*thik*, right, *nhānā*=*thānā*, police station, *nhāĩ*=*thāĩ*, brass vessel, *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse, *nhat*=*sat*, seven, *nhir*=*sir*, head, *nhilnā*=*sikhnā*, learn, *nhīs*=*sis*, head, and so forth

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire, *pīrl*, oil, etc

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bīā*=*īā*, thus, *buc*=*uc*, now, *bōtṭhē*=*ōtṭhē*, there, *baur*=*aur*, and, *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*, thus, *bagōllē*, gram, *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāthī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant, thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy, *bādi*=*chādi*, silver, *bēndīā*=*gandīā*, lock, *bucar*=*ghūr*, water-carrier, *b'indhā*=*sandhā*, male buffalo, *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold, *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith, *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

ī and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *l*, *lh*, respectively, thus, *īāṭhī*=*lāṭhī*, saddle, *rēṭṇā*=*lātnā*, cut, *īāl*=*lāl*, famine, *ruṇjī*=*luṇjī*, key, *īudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*lhudā*, God, *īhaphā*=*lhafā*, angry, *īhijmat*=*lhudmat*, service, *rhēt*=*lēt*, field, *rhāt*=*lhāt*, bed and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *lhapan*, *chhapan*, *nair* and *pau*, foot, *chhabāptā*, *dhābāpta* and *bāptā*, father, *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are —

l in *chullnā*, to speak, cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *lh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhltā*=*mittā*, is being met with.

g is common after *ī* in several pronominal forms, thus, *mērgā*, my, *tērgā*, thy, *lēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *īaulhgnā*=*lahnā*, tell, *īaulhgnā*=*īahnā*, remain, *gaugnā*, to go, *gaugā*, went, cf. *ganā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *ladgī*, ever, *lōggī*, *lōi*, anyone, *chaug*=*chār*, four, *duhāngī*=*duhāi*, appeal, *hukamgā-lō*, the command, and so forth.

th is added in *naūṭhā*=*nā*, name, *dūṭhā*=*dūr*, far, *naīṭhī*=*nāi*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father, *bhantā*, brother, *mautī*, mother, and a double addition *dhre* is used in *jaūdhīē*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases, thus, *dēpnā*, to give, *lēpnā*, to take, *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began, and in *chhābīā*=*chhagīā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two, *thēi*, three. In *jasīna*, go, *asrna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *lumbhā*=*lunhā*, potter, cf. *neōklā*=*chhōklā*, boy, *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur, such are *lōndh*, the dark half of a month, *lhōnā*=*lhōlnā*, to open, *pāgg*=*pagī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *l* is prefixed, compare *luggē*, before, *lōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*, thus, *laulhgnā*, to tell, *gaugā*, went, *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhantā*, brother,

mautī, mother In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*, thus, *chēnguā*=*changā*, good, *bēndhā*=*sandhā*, male buffalo, *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began, *rēkhicanā*=*raḥhnā*, place, *rētnā*=*kātnā*, cut *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged, thus, *bīndī*=*bundā*, eardrop, *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier, *lhaīājū*=*īājī*, pleased An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *lhuntā*=*gautā*, pickaxe, *naulhnā*=*dēlhnā*, see, *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *cō*, thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold, *neōllā*=*chhōlkrā*, boy Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat, *leōlkrī*=*lakrī*, wood, *gāddar*=*gīdaī*, jackal, and so forth All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary Note also double changes in words such as *lhadēpangīā*=*dengīā*, will give, *lhamtth*=*ptth*, back, *chulknā*=*bōlnā*, to speak, *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin, *dhankīn*=Kashmir, *dhumalmān*=Musalmān, *thūb*=*ūth*, camel, and so forth

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect The inflexional forms remain the same The individual words alone are changed Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape, compare *lhamat* and *mat*, by me, *lhamērā*, *lhamīgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout, "I went" is *gauhgā* or *gasriā* and so forth

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr Grahame Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī The third has been received from Gurdaspur The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr Bailey, will be found on pp 178ff

[No 19]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI

CRIMINAL VARIATION

SPECIMEN I

(Dr T Grahame Bailey)

Békki	kōdmīā-gē	dhōr	bōrē	thīvyč	Bun	bichchā	khikč
<i>One</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>boys</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>by-the-little</i>
bāptē-gū	kaulgiā	ki,	'hē	bāptē,	dhamālā-gī	jihrgā	khassa inērgā
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-of</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>share mine</i>
asrta	hōpē, manū	dēpī	nōd'	Bun	bun-kō	khapnā	nhārgā
<i>coming</i>	<i>is, me-to</i>	<i>giving</i>	<i>leave'</i>	<i>By-him</i>	<i>them-to</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>all</i>
dhamāl	khapaṭi	nodā	Nhōrč	khōjč	nichhč	khikč	bōrč
<i>property</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-left</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>by little</i>	<i>boy all</i>
māl	natthā	kūligē	khadūr	dhamulkā	bichch	jasrigē	rauhgiā,
<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>staved,</i>
tē	bōthē	nhārgč	naisē	nhairč	nammč	bichch	khalaī
<i>and</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>piece</i>	<i>evil</i>	<i>coils</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>expending left.</i>
Jad	nhārgā	nharch	kūli	linā,	bus	dhamulkī	bichch
<i>When</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>was-taken,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in great</i>
dbakāl	tawiā	Bōh	chhauht	naurā	tawiā	Tad	bus
<i>famine</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>naï row</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>that country-of</i>
békki	kōdmīā-gē	nās	gaugā,	bun	bus-kō	khapnīč	nañiē
<i>one</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>fields in pigs</i>
nhugāñē	ghēlwā,	tē	bus-ki	khargi	thī	bun	tāphlč-gū
<i>to-graze</i>	<i>he-was-sent,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>him-of</i>	<i>wish</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>fodders which</i>
tūdē	dimtē	thīvyē	khapnā	nēf	nharē,	bus-kō	kōi
<i>pigs</i>	<i>eating</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>may-fill,</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>anyone not</i>
thiyyā	Bhī	nōshā	'bichch	asrigē	kauhgnč	laggā,	'mčrgč
<i>was</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>sense</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having come</i>	<i>to-say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>'my</i>
bāptē-gē	nās	jadē	khajūrē-gū	chhauht	tīmī	hōpē,	tč
<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>hired-laboures-to</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>is,</i>	<i>and I</i>
chhūkhā	lugtā	hōpē	Hrū	khapnē	baptē	nās	jasrangrā
<i>hungry</i>	<i>dying</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go and</i>
kauhgangrā	ki,	"hē	bāptē,	maī	namānā-gā	tē	tērgā
<i>will-say</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>"O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>by-me</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>thy great sin</i>

kūlā hōpē, biwkē haũ bis khajōgā nahī hōpē kī kōdmī manũ tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhgē, dhamanũ khajūrē jūdā rēkhwi nōd '' Bhi
boy may-say, me hired-labourers like placing leave '' Then
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khaḡē khadūr thiyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 kī bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē bunkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dbagal lavā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed By-boy him-to-
 kauhgā kī, ' hē bāptē, maī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ' O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūlā, biwkē bis khajōgā nahī hōpē kī bhi tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhgē ' Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgā kī, ' nhārē
may-remain ' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ' all
 satthā chēnguē rihrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē bis-kē khōthā-gu
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhārē-gū paunī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, kī dimā tē nushī kūlā Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make My this boy
 lugī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē khajivī tawīā, gawān gaugā thiyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell, lost gone was,
 biw khalabhi tawīā ' Bhi bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.
now having-found fell ' Then they merry to-make began

Buskā jadā bōrā naiiā bichch thiyyā Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was When house-to came,
 dbagaunē tē khanachnē gā khawāj nhupā Tad bēkhi
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard Then one
 khanaukarā-gu chulāigē nūchhiā kī, ' bēā kyā hōpē ? ' Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what is ? ' By-him
 bus-kō kauhgā, ' tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, by thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūlā, khis nāstē kī bōh chēngua
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
 khalabhi tawīā ' Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell ' He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasnē-gī nahī thi Bhi bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharājū kūlnē laggā Bun bīptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
pleased to-make began By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsč-gī tērgī khatahl kultī hōpē, tē kadhī tērgā khākhā
take, so-many years of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā, 'tē taī kadhī bēk chhābrī nahī dīpi, kī
not was-broken, and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khapnē khōstč nathth nushī kūlč, jād tērgā bā bōrā rari
own friends with merry may-make, when thy this boy came
 jūn tērgā dhamāl bēnjrič bichch lāyā, 'tāī bus-kē
by-whom thy property harlots among was spent, by-thee him-of
 līyē tōma kāngal hlal kūlī' Bun bus-kō kaulgiā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē, jūrgī mērgā hōpē, tērgī hōpē Par
'thou always my side art, what mine is, thine is But
 naujā kūlnī tē nush hōpnā chīhītā thīvā, kū, tērgā bāī
meriments to-make and happy to-be proper was, why, thy this
 bhautā lūgī gaugā thīyā, bīwkē jīwī tawā, gawān gūgā
brother having-died gone was, now living fell, lost gone
 hīyā, bīwkē khalabhī tawā'
was, now finding fell'

[No 20]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI

CRIMINAL VARIATION

SPECIMEN II

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey)

Mhārgē	dhōr	pīr	nurē	jasartē	thīyyē	Békkī	nādd
<i>Our</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints</i>	<i>going-along</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>village</i>
ohhēngnē	gaugē	Békkī	khētīā	nāsā	khadúddh	chhēngiā	
<i>to-beg</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>female-Jatt</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>was-asked.</i>	
Bun	nahī	dēpiā	Buh	nurī	gaugē,	bus-kā	khadúddh
<i>By-her</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>going-away</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>her-of</i>	<i>milk</i>
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā	Bun	khētīā	nōkhuā	bhaī	khadúddh
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>By-that</i>	<i>female-Jatt</i>	<i>it-was-seen</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>milk</i>
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā,	buh	bhī	nichhē	binkī	Bunō
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>By-them</i>
							<i>it-was-said,</i>
‘bōrī,	jasar,	tērgā	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī	jasragrā’
<i>‘girl,</i>	<i>go,</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>will-go’</i>
							<i>She</i>
asari	tē	nōkhuā,	tē	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī
<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-seen,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>
							<i>gone</i>
							<i>was</i>
Bunī	dhōr	pīrē	ōpō	békk	karāmāt	kūlī.	Békkī
<i>Those-very</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>by-saints</i>	<i>by-them</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>miracle</i>	<i>was-done</i>	<i>By-one</i>
arkā	náthth	dōph	‘nuttī,	Bhī	bus-kō	khriddigē	
<i>elbow</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>iguana</i>	<i>was-dug-up</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>having-cooked</i>	
dīmā	Bhī	bun	nūsrē-gō	kauhgiā	bhaī,	‘maī	nuṭṭī,
<i>it-was-eaten</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>other-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘by-me</i>	<i>was-dug-up,</i>
taū	bus-kō	bhī	narājīt	kūl’	Bhī	bun	kōddiā
<i>thou</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>alive</i>	<i>make’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>bones</i>
							<i>together</i>
kūlīā,	tē	kōthth	nēhīgē	kauhgnē	laggā,	‘jasar	khabachcha,
<i>were-made,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>having-waved</i>	<i>to say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>‘go</i>	<i>little-one,</i>
binkī	jasar’	Bhī	buh	binkī	gaugī	tē	narājīt
<i>running</i>	<i>go’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>running</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>alive</i>
							<i>becoming</i>
gaugī.	Tē	bun	dhōrē	pīrē-gē	naūthē	Bhalād	Bhagat
<i>went</i>	<i>And</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints-of</i>	<i>names</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>
							<i>ana</i>
Malang	thīyyē,	tē	Bhalād	Bhagat	Malangā-gā	dhamāmā	thīyyā ¹
<i>Malang</i>	<i>were,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>	<i>Malang-of</i>	<i>mother’s-brother</i>	<i>was</i>

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 53

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhe kaugā Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call Me own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwī lepp'' Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take'' Then own father
 nhās khaturī chulpū Oh ajē dūrtthē thīā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharāhm asriā, baur durkhī-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwī lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachummā Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugā, 'rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kūhā Is khalāikī-kā khanāhī khaabhi
and God-of sin was-done This worthiness-of not no
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē, Phabappē kuāpnē khaaukrē-kō
thy son me they may call' By-the-father own servants to
 kaugā pai, 'koachchhi dalmā lēpi asar baur bus-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugaī kharkāi dāwī dēpō, baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimē ar ihusi kūlā, pai khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugā, khajiwī tawīā, guāchgī gaugā siā, khabib libhwi tawīā, Bib
went, alive felt, lost gone was, now found fell' Bib
 bōh rhusi kūlnē lēgbē
they merry to-make began

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thīā Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khañāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khatad khaaukrā-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard Then servants-to
 chalēwī-kē nūchhuā, 'hia chhuā hōpi raugā'' Bus nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
 kaugā, 'tērgā bhātā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khiti dhamaī pai
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhi tawīā' Bus-nē rhapā hōpi-kē khañāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell' Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhuā pai, 'kūndar jasiā' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go' His father-by outside having come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dīnā,
him-to was-entreated Him by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khaḍēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgī rhuimat kūtā rihā, baur khatērgī
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

KÖLHĀTĪ

The Kōlhātīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the

Name Hyderabad State They are said¹ to take their name from *Kōlhāt*, the bamboo on which they perform The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *atiga*, a player In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe According to Mr Balfour they call themselves Bhatū, compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe

Occupation In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhātīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads They also make hude combs and gunpowder flasks When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhātīs, except with their own children Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kōlhātīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhātīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhātīs The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers Kam Kōlhātīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhātīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows —

Bombay Presidency—	
Bombay Town	123
Thana	76
Ahmednagar	588
Khandesh	435
Nasik	383
Poona	384
Satara	334
Sholapur	187
Carried over	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 123ff.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f.

³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff.

Bombay Presidency—*contd*

Brought forward	2,510
Akalkot	85
Bhor	7
Satara Agency	10
Belgaum	100
Bijapur	118
Dharwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	171
Sawantwadi	57

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

1,681

Berar—

Amraoti	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	161
Buldana	281
Wani	97
Basim	57

TOTAL BERAR

1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbargah	1,640
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	82
Sirpur Tandur	191
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indur	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD

6,007

GRAND TOTAL

12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhātī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhātī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhātīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhātī was returned from the following districts—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	700
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,200 1,200

Berar—

Amraoti	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda

50

50

TOTAL	.	<u>2,367</u>
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Authority

A Kōlhātī vocabulary has been published in the following work —

BALFOUR, EDWARD,—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. xiii, Part 1, 1844, pp 1 and ff Note on the "Bhatoos" on p 12, vocabulary, pp 17 and f

Mr Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhadoo, Doomur or Kollati

Dialect

Bhadoo is identical with the Sāsī word *bhattū*, a Sāsī man.

The corresponding Kōlhātī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsī *bhatānī*, a Sāsī woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhātī and Sāsī from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhātī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsī and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long, thus, *ēkka*, one, *rahhh*, keep, *lhōggā*, house, *ruttī*, bread, *utthī*, having arisen, *gāddhī*, having taken out, *sātta*, seven, *baddhī*, were bound, *rānna*, ear, *lhumma*, mouth, *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens, compare *lharsī*, spent, the change of *l* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district, compare *rāy*=*kāl*, famine, *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now, *gāddhī*, having taken out, but *ladd*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsī. We may note the frequent *-ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *i* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsī, compare *lhetā-mē*, in the field, *ārōpīyā-thō*, near the accused, *bhatānīyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers, *lhōggō mē-sī*, from in the house, *lachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz —case of the agent *-nē*, dative *-lu*, *-lō*, ablative *-sē*, *-sī*, genitive *-kā*, *lī*, *kē*, *līā*, locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hū*, I, *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I, compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē lu*, to me, which was also used in the Beldāri of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jābō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsī. In the Akola specimens forms such as *lahēngdā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōngdā*, I shall be, compare the Sāsī future suffix *giā*. The future of *mārnā*, to beat, is stated to be *mārang* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go, *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhātī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku
One man-to two sons were Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'bappa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give' Then
 un-nō jingī batti dī Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dīi, kharsī sarī gai Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-satti us-ku adchan padī Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him to distress fell That time-at that
 mulkā-sī vakhī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā, unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē tandē charāwnē bhējī diyā Ō tādē kōṇḍā
fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given Those swine husks
 khatē thiyē, ō khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātṛā, us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai Majē ō
it-appeared, him-to by-anyone anything was-given not Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku ruttī pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bhārī milti, mī bhukkā martā Mī utthī mērē bappā-kōnē
filling is-got, I starving die I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ō bappā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mī-nī pāp haryā Abthunā-sī mī tērā bētā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai Aplē chākrīyē-kē gadiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakha " Majē utyā,
not Own service-of labourer-like me keep " Then arose,
 utti bappā-kunē gayā
having-arisen father-near went

The few Kōlhātis of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī, compare *bōlā*, said, *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows

GIPSY LANGUAGES

KOLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē ladhē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl
 Ohhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē badā bānglā thiya, chhōrī nīsi-ch thiya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was
 Ekka dīn wō dō-jhanē chhōrē anē-kē najik khēltē thiya Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass of near playing were Boy
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'āya, yē anē-mē dīkka bhalā nīkī kōn distī
girl-to says, 'O, this glass in see well good who is-appearing
 kī.' Chhōriya-ku wō nīkā nahi lagā Us-kō samjhā
what ' Girl-to that good not appeared Her-to it-was-thought
 kī is-nē yē āpyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā Pichhē unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said Afterwards her-by
 bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said She said, 'father,
 kōynē-mē khum dīkhī khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām, us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work, that-in
 ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahi ' Bappā-ne dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pākadi
man-by mind to-be-put not ' Father-by both breast-to clasping
 us-kō khushī kiyā Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum ladhu na-kō
her-to satisfaction was made He said, 'children, you fight not-should
 Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dīnā-ma anē-mē dēkhtē jā'
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest' This did not please the girl She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her Then she went to her father and complained of the boy She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women, a man should not put his mind on such things' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel I should like both of you to look into the glass every day'

The word *lōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *l* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsi and similar argots

Argot

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhātīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājji*, woman, *khōggā*, house, *khūm*, mouth, face, *chēni*, water, *tummī*, head, *taunā*, fall, *thāy*, beat, *ṭuoā*, rupee, *thōknā*, sit, *duṭṭa*, eat, *dhēd*, a Mahār (lit a huge, burlv, person), *bhatāni*, wife, *hētti*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajētā*=*betā*, child, *kōkhka*=*ākḥ*, eye, *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man, *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand, *khūt*=*ūth*, camel, *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose, *khanajik*=*najik*, near, *khumbā*=*umā*, age, *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsi.

As in Sāsi and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chadā*=*badā*, big, *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil, *(ka)jētā*=*bētā*, boy, *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

Th and *dh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property, *thamānā*, to die, *dhōkhal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute, thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon, *nyā*=*chār*, four, *nōr*=*chōr*, thief, *nāt*=*jāt*, caste, *nīb*=*jibh*, tongue, *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth, *nusrā*=*ḍusrā*, other, *nēt*=*pēt*, belly, *nāch*=*pāch*, five, *nōkkad*=*bōkad*, goat, *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*, thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field, *nhād*=*ḍhād*, tree, *nhāmē*=*sāmnē*, before, *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one, *bua*, him, *bēthē-si*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōiā*=*chhōrā*, boy, *bannagar*=*dhangar*, shepherd, *bōnnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural, thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rētti*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear, *rāy*=*gāy*, cow, *rāv*=*gāv*, village, *ihup*=*khūb*, well, *ihōdā*=*ghōdā*, horse, *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went, *ihōghyā*, stayed, a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister, *nanchhā*, small, *nāvchhā*, name, *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father, *bhāvotā*, brother, *p* in *dēppa*, give, *lyēp*, take, *r* in *dhōr*, two, *v* in *āvotā*, comes, *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go, *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable, the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 179ff.

[No 24]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA

Koi	bek	kōdmī-kō	dhōr	bōrē	hōchche	Bus-mē-kā	nhannā
Some	one	man-to	two	sons	were	Them-in-of	younger
bōri	bappi-ku	kahūgdā,	'bappi,	jō	mērā	thamālā-kā	nāttā mu-ku
son	father-to	said,	'father,	this	my	property-of	share me-to
īsarī,	wō	mo-ku	dēppō	Jabō	bus-nō	bunh-kō	nhampat nāti
comes,	that	me to	give	Then	him-by	them-to	property dividing
dēppī	Jabō	nhodē	dinū-sī	nhansī	bōrā	sab	namā
was given	Then	few	days-from	small	son	all	together
kāriknī	dūr	nī-sī mō	gughā,	am	wōthē	khudādēpanā-sī	
having-made	far	count-y-in	went,	and	there	riotousness-with	
hī	am	khīplī	nhampat	khudāi	dēppī	Jabō	bus-nē
was-taken	and	own	property	having-easted	was-given	Then	him-by
rah	rharchē-par	bus	mulkhā-mē	chada	rāy	tavyā,	bus-muyē
all	spent after	that	count-y-in	big	famine	fell,	that-on-account-of
bus-ku	kharchan	trāi	Jad	o	bus	nēsī-mē-ka	bēkhā rarasthā-kē
him to	difficulty	fell	Then	he	that	count-y-in of	one man-of
khānjik	jaik	roghvā	Bun-nē	bus-ku	khāplē	nhētā-mē	nhūr
near	having gone	stayed	Him-by	him	own	field-in	stone
narāwnē	nathīyā	Jad	sūr	jō	narphal	khātā	thiyā bus-par
to-ferd	was sent	Then	some	which	husks	eating	were those-on
khāplī	pūt	bharnā	csā	bus-kō	nilā-mē	āya,	akhun
own	belly	should-be-filled	thus	his	heart-in	came,	and
kin-nē	bus-ku	kāhī	dippā	nāhī	Jad	ō	nhudi-par
anybody-by	him to	anything	was-given	not	Then	he	sense-on
āknāhī	kahūgdā,	'mērō	bappā-kē	ēthē	ritēk	nhāldārā	ku
having-come	said,	'my	father-of	with	how-many	ser-vants-to	
nhār-pūr	rūtī	miltī,	ākhun	hū	bbukhā-sī	thamartā	
belly-full	head	is got,	and	I	hunger-from	am-dying	
Utthī	khāplē	bappā-kē	hang	jāugdā	wa	bus-kē	kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen	own	father-of	near	went	and	him-to	said, 'O
bāptē,	mē-nē	nēwā-kē	khirdi	wa	tērē	nhāmne	nāp
father,	me by	God-of	against	and	of-thee	before	am
							done

hē.	Ap-sī	tūrā	chhōrā	kehēnē-kō	hū	lāyak	nāhī'
is	Now-from	thy	son	saying-of	I	worthy	not'
Narantu	bappā-nē	khāplē	nakrā-ku	kahyī,		'kābut	rapdā
But	father-by	own	servants-to	it-was-said,		'good	cloth
lāi	bus-ku	rhālō,	ākhn	bus-kē	kōhōtā-mī	khāngōṭī	wō
having-taken	him-to	put,	and	his	hand-on	ring	and
gōtē-mē	jōdvē	rhālō	Jab	āpun	khāi	nēn	karang
foot-on	shoes	put	Then	we	having-eaten	merry	shall-make
Kāran	yō	mērā	chhōrā	marī	grā	thiyā,	ō
Because	this	my	son	having-died	gone	was,	he
phuriknāi							again
jwā	huwā,	wō	jattā	rhivā	thiyā,	ō	milyā'
living	became,	he	lost	remaining	was,	he	was-found'
ō	harikh	karhī	rihē				Then
they	merriment	making	were				

[No. 25]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA

Janu wārd Hari, nīt Kōlhātī, khumbar baras tis, bastī
Janu son of Hari, caste Kōlhātī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nīwā-kī in hī kēhātā kē ājmās pandhrā dīn huō
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj sukārwar dīn rīfī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
my-be, day Iriday day at night I and wife and two children
 itē khōzgē me sukte thē Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so many house-in sleeping were Then two watch-of night-of
 sambārī mē mīrē bhatānī-ā-nē mu-ku jāgī karīā ākhin kīhī
approximation-in in wife by me awakening was-made and saying
 rīhī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāndē bajī rīhīpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chībhāy
she was that, 'house in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 awtī hē, jab utī ' Bus-par-sē hū utīvā ākhin bhūtī-kē bang
coming is, then rise ' That on-from I rose and wall-of near
 dēhīvā I hī bhōk mu-ku dikhīvā Bus-par-sē mu ku khās
it-was-seen Then hole me-to was-seen That-on-from me-to certainly
 wātīvā kē kōi-to-bī khōggā phōdī māhāy ghūsyā hē
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is
 Khōggā-mē awtī nahī thīvā Mīrē bīchhāwnā-tanhē angār-pētī thī
House-in lamp not was My bed-under match-box was
 Mē nē lagech giddhī bus-ko pētāi Ittē-mē yō ārōpī
Me-by at-once having-taken out it was-lighted This-much-in this accused
 bhūtī-kē pādīl bhōkī-thōk jai-rīyā Bus-par mēri najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going was That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē nē bus-ku pākadvā, ākhin bus-kā kohōt pakadyā Bus-kō kēhēngdā
me by him-to was seized, and him-of hand was-seized Him-to I-said
 kō, 'arē nōrā, katthē chalyā? ' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mēri
that, 'O thief, where moved? ' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub hūi, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kālhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from ' noise was-made

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē śējārī-lōk Sītārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sītārām and Iṭhōbā these came
 Ittē-mē mērē bhatāmyā-nē dīwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē māhāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sākkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē māhāv
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā, jab is ārōpiyā-thō
came Then me-to much strength came, then this accused-near
 dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nīkyē Vē khanna thērā tivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out Those bodices three rupees
 kīmatī-kē hē Vē mērē hē, bhatāmyā-kē gathōdē-mē thiyē Ō
worth-of are They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were That
 gathōdā chakkīyā-thōkē utyāmyā-thō thiyā Is-kē śīwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was This-of excepting other
 māl gayā nāhī Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and
 lagēch paṭēlā-kē bang hī gayē, wō hui hakikat paṭēlā-kō
at-once Paṭēl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭēl to
 kahī Bus-par-sī paṭēlā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told That-on-from Paṭēl-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in
 ārōpi-ku dīyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis thēsan Bārsī-Tākīyā-ku
the accused-to was-given, and morning of time police station Barsī-Takī-to
 pathāyā Ārōpī kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwchhā kyā hē, yō
he-was sent The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this
 mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī Dīwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he own village-of not Lamp lighting-of
 nihē mē-nē angār-pēti-kī kādī ōdhī Ittē-mē ō ārōpī
in-order me by match-box-of stick was-rubbed This-much-in that accused
 bhōkkā-kē khanajik dikhānā Bus-mudē mu-ku dīwā lagāwtā
hole of near appeared That-on-account-of me-to lamp being lighted
 āyā nāhī Bhūtī-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku adchan-mē-sī jānā
came not Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go
 āwnā āwtā Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhūtī-ku bhōk
to come comes Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole
 pādā, ō mu-ku bhōkā kē najikā-kē nhāwnīyā-mē mīyā
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

I, Janu, son of Hari, a Kūlhātī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandī, state on earth that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sītārām and Jībōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Paṭṭī and informed him of what had happened. The Paṭṭī gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsī Takhī. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌDĪ.

The Gārōdis are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive. The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive. The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food. Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōdī or Gārudī is derived from *gāruda*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōdis in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōdis. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāicungō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapelungā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōdī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *iēmūā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī, compare *lāicdē* (but also *lāicdō*), sons, *bhāicuti-lā*, to a father. The genitive ends in *lō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *lā*. In the periphrastic present we find *luṇū hū*, I am doing, as in Mewāṭī, Mālvi, and Mewārī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī, Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I, *lāicdē*, a child, the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *uṇā*, here, *uṇā*, there, *nūmā*, water, *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilētō*, when coming, *hāyilandē*, coming, *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōdis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *aldī*, whip, *bēt*, eat, *bōngā*, gold, *chisam*, good, *chōnō*, name, *dhamulō*, belly, *dhiṁmō*, slave, *dharālī*, iron, *dhāyṭī*, property, *ḍḍhalwītīnī*, harlot, *ḍḍhāmī*, midnight, *ḍḍhangī*, a bulbous root, *gōnō*, hand, *gōnālī*, foot, *ghuruknā*, swine, *jachan*, diagnose, *kājā*, man, *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kapa*), *khōmdā*, mouth, *kāwsō*, bull, *kāyṭī*, ailment, *lug*, die, *lugā*, beat, *mallā*, garden, *mīmal*, run, loose, *nānd*, house, village, *nāthyā*, wife, *nirmā*, water, *panēchī*, back (of

Kanarese *bennu*), *tabēt*, health, *tap*, fall, *tōk*, say, *tōlchō*, head (cf Kanarese *tale*), *thig*, sit, *icalā*, give, and so on

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters, thus, *dabō*, big, and perhaps *tap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants, thus, *ghāytlē*, they went, *lhaikhanā*, having taken, *nākyō*, threw

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *lhadmī*, man, *khūpai*, above, *khut-kō*, having arisen, *khōyīd*=*baud*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmna*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwu*, to call, *chōlnī*, word, state. Noto *chuwānd*, bind. In *jilāfī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf *bilādī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute, compare *dzhichādī*, behind, *dzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger, *dzhāil-kanā*, having gone, *dzhapplī*, shoe, sandal, *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭkad*, seize. The initial *dh* in *dhamuklō*, belly, *dhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turcālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *su*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields, *l* in *lpadā*, cloths, and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come, *hant*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

l in *bhēkdā*, brother, and *g* in *bōngā*, gold, compare, however, Kanarese *bangāra*; *ch* in *lanēchī*, eye, *kānēchī*, ear, *chandichī*, moon, *bhanichī*, sister, *nhanchō*, small, etc., *ṭ* in *ghōrṭō*, horse, *d* in *lhagādī*, before, *khōmdā*, mouth, *dāḍwā*, tooth, *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.,

t in *dzhukāyit*, hunger,

p in *rhapelyō*, was, *hapē-nā*, am not,

m in *ek-mū*, one, *dul-mū*, two, *litmū*, how many, *bhutmū*, devil, *dēmā*, god, *tōdmē*, I broke, *thudmē*, few, *lamel*, do, *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did, *karmel*, do, *ghalel*, put, *ghāyilē*, went, *chalēlē*, went, *jagāyilyo*, waked, *dzhāyil*, go, *batat-kā*, dividing, *rakellē*, keep, *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard, *sunmel-kā*, having heard, *hāyilyō*, came, *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ṭ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing, *mōhlō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōdis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 179ff

[No 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌDĪ

SPECIMEN I.

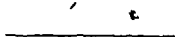
DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwdē chhō Yē-kē mhayī nhanchō līwdō
One man-to two sons were Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyī-mā-sī ma-kū hāyīludē
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walī' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayī āplyō dhāyī bātāl-kā
share me-to give' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai Nhanchō lāwdō āplyō hītō lhal-kānā dūr mulūk-kū
gave Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhāl-kānā bharkum dīn hovīl-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kānā
having-gone many days became-not, that-in he notous having-become
 āplyō dhāyī sab ghalā nākyō Ō hē karēktō wā
own property all throwing was-lost He so doing that
 mulūk-ma dabi dzhvānjli tap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyīlō Ō
country-in big famine having fallen him-to poverty became He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlvō, ē khadmī
that country-of one man near in-service remained, that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charānē-kū nētā-kū lagī-dhalyō Ungā dzhukāyīt-sī
him swine feeding-for fields-to was-sent There hunger-from
 kalmal hōvīl-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō bī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhū ō-kū koyī-kan-sī kujī-ch milchh-nā
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was got-not
 Aīsē thudmē dīn ghayilē, āplyō dzhichali chōlnī yād hō-kānī
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kānā chhōtō kītmū
he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī, mī-tō-
servants to bellies having-filled more food got-is, I-on-the-other-
 bī ngā dzhukāyīt-sī lugū-hū Mī khut-kō-nā mero bhāwutē-kānā
hand here hunger-from dying-am I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhāyīl-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pīp bhāwutē-kā pīp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā lyō Mī tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kū chisam
having-tied was-taken I thy son having-said saying-for fit
hape-nā. Ma-kū tērē-kanā ekmū naukar-wānī rakhel-lē ” ” Asō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep ” ” So
tōk-kanā ungā-sī khut-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāylyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
dūr-sī ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having come having-in having-gone
tikad-kanā chummi wolāyō Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given Then son father-to said,
‘bhāwutē, mī tērē khagādi dēmā-kē khagādi chūk karēlyō Tū
‘father, by-me of-thee before God-of before son was-done Thou
ma kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā ’ Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having made to call is-not ’ This-to father
āplyō ” naukar-kū tōkyō, ‘chisam lipadā lhāyil-kanā mērē lāwdē-kū walāw,
own servants-to said, ‘best robe having-taken my son-to give,
gōnē-ma khangti ghalel, gōnali-ma dzhyappli ghalel, bētnī tayārī
finger-on ring put, feet-on shoes put, dinner preparation
karmel, ham bēt-kanā khuṣī hapelungā, kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become, because this my son
lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāylyō, nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came, lost gone being,
milyō ’ Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuṣī hapellyō
was-found ’ This having-heard all men glad became

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē dabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was He house-near
hāylyētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāylyō Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came He
tsākrīwālē ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, ‘yō kē hapel? ’ āsē tōkyō
servants-among one-to having-called, ‘this what is? ’ so said
Ō kū wa-nā tōkyō, ‘tērō bhēkdā hāylyō hāyī, ē chisam-sī
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother come is, he well
hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli hāyī ’ Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is ’ This
sunel-kanā wā dabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kū mhayī ghailc-nā
having-heard that elder son anger to having-come inside went-not
Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, ‘mhayī-hāyil,’
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, ‘inside-come,’
kar-kā ta-kū bharkum ajijī karēlyō Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made That-to he own

bhāwutē-ki tōkyō, 'mī itnū baras tak tērī tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tērī chōlnī kabī tōdmē-nā Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhai-kanā
thy word ever broke-not But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstō tū kabī ma-kū ckmū rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā Džhalwātñī-kā sangat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Hailots-of company having-made thy property all
 ningaḷ-lyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū hāyilō barābar tū ō-kc
devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstō bētnī karēlyō ' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kō tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner madest ' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gadi mērē sangat rhayelā, mērē-kan hapclāsō srb tērō ch
all-time of-me in-company art, of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, phir-kā dam bharclyo, nimal ghailō
is Dead-being thy brother, again life filled, lost gone
 chhōsō, milēlyō Aisō ham khuśi hōyilnē-kc chusam hapelā '
being, was-found So we happy to-become good is '



[No 27]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

G ĀRŌDĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGIUM

Ajar dzhāvilnē kē bholō upw Ek mū nānd-ma ek mū dābō
Indigestion coming-of simple remedy One town in one big
 hajī chhō Ō har gadī bharkum bet-kanā thugyāsō jāgā-pa thugyō
man was He every time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō Kousē-chi tarī-sī kashit karel chhin-nī Ō-kī wāstē ō-kō
was Any even kind of labour doing was-not That of for-the-sake his
 ane ma labi to bī sustī harvil-chhī Ek mū dīn ō kājā
today-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was One day that man
 aplyō dos kē nānd-ku bētnē ku ghālyō chhō Ungā bharkum bēt-
on front-of horse to eating for gone was There much having-
 kanī dzhāmi tak jagvilyō Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō kū
eaten midnight-till sealed That-of on account' neat-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar ho gadī Ō bakhāt-ku ō trbēt charch kanā hāyil
great indigestion became That time at he health having-examined come
 jar-ka gādī-ko khupar chad kan khōyid-ko nānd-kū ghālyō
having-said carriage of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went
 Khōyid-nī ō kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyli-kī jachan karel-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 tokyō, 'bīwā, ingā sī dulmu kos-pa ek mū mallē-ma yā kāyli kū
said, 'Sir, here from two kos-in one garden-in this disease-for
 walānē-kī dzhāngī hapela Khūsi-sē ūngā-tak hāyiltō ō khupad-kan
giving-of bulb is kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted up
 walānī Ō-kī wāstē dzhupar-kē mhayī tērē kāyli dzhāyil-kē
I-may-give That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapčhangō ' It mū sunmel kā kājā-nū tōkyō, 'mōrō
relief will become' This much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gādī tayār hojil-kī rharpli Hāyil, ūngā-tak dzhāyil-kanā
carriage ready having-become stands Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā ' It mū tok-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gādī-ma
let us come' This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chad-kan chalēlē Nānd-kanā-sī dulmū kōs dzhāyīl-kanā khōyīd-nā
having-mounted went House-near-from two lōs having-gone doctor-by
gōnē-mā-kī aldī hōnūkar-kā tanā nakhlīl dīyō
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A simple remedy for indigestion

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *lōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *lōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYÄNWÄLE OR LHÄRI.

The word *Myānwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myānwālē* or *Lhārī*. *Myānwālē* is simply the plural form of *Myānwālā*. *Lhārī* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhārī*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myānwālē* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*, it is probably only spoken by a small section

The base of *Myānwālī* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance, compare *lō'ungō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hiticādyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases, the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may now derive *Lā* as in *Mālvī* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvī* or *lā* as in *Hindōstānī*, and locative *mā* as in *Mālvī* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, of *Gujarātī* and *ē*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in Bundēli, and *me* is *forē*, cf. Gujarati *arē*

[illegible][illegible]

Mānārāk is, to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~base~~ ^{base} ~~There are some~~ ^{There are some} ~~parat or, chhuman,~~ ^{parat or, chhuman,} ~~woman, dut, eat,~~ ^{woman, dut, eat,} ~~house; lugānō, to~~ ^{house; lugānō, to} ~~name, rhālā, brother~~ ^{name, rhālā, brother} ~~(Ka arō, nādu~~ ^{(Ka arō, nādu} ~~in other words~~

[illegible]

K is substituted in *hurṣā*, swine, compare *sūā*

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man, *khagādī*, before, *khāpnō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime, *lhek*, one, *khudō*, god, *khuanl*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipadā*=*kapā*, clothes, and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bētā*

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chādō*=*baā*, big, *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying, *chhl*=*bhar*, filling, *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger, *chhugā*=*mu ghā*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots, compare *dhākhō*=*kākhā*, uncle, *dhiml*=*mlā*, was got, *dhunabī*=*kumbī*, a cultivator, *dhēlyā*, compare *bhēā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry, *naībī*, poverty, *nusā*, angry, a palatal in *nāhar*, servant, *nūkh*, sin, a dental in *nōs*, friend, a labial in *nad-ke*, falling, *nāp*, sin, *nu-lu*, again, *nirāu*, put on, *nuādī* (*fiyādi*), complainant, *naībār*, immediately, *nāt*, state, *naīas*, year, *nīlar*, inside, *nan*, mind, an *h* in *nakhīlat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabalo*, all, compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*, thus, *nhanlat*, difficulty, *nhau-ke*, hearing, *nhuuyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field, *nhūs*, chaff, *nhōkhō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bīto*, took, and for *s* in *buṣal-ke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māiutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māiuti*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials, thus, *īhar*, ear, *īātō*, share, *īāl*, hair, *īpche*=*pīchhē*, behind, *īhāllō*=*bhāī*, brother, *īhāī*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *īāllō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *īhōlē*, art, *īshō*, head, and a *lu* in *nhōkhō*=*chhōtā*, small. If *īhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāī*, a *kl* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four, *dūg*, far, *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kīchō*, did, *ghōdchō*, horse.

An addition *īl* is used in some intransitive verbs, thus, *chīgīt*, run, *nuhītō*, lost, *baīītō*, came, *lugītō*, dead. A *d* is added in *khagādī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōd* and *īād* in verbal forms such as *natōd*, dividing, *īakhōd*, keeping, *ghalōd*, put, *baīawādī*, she came, *īhōkhōādō*, stayed, *hīwādyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take, *māiutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *l* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bētā* (?), boy, *dhēlyā*, kid, compare *bhēā*, ram, *chhl*=*bhar* (?), filling, *kōl*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāsi *kūl*), *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *baī* in *hōbaī-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀN WALĒ OR LHĀRĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk damōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to tico sons were Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingānī-mē ma-kū barōsō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rātō ma-kū khich' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingānī natōd-bētō
share me-to give' Father them-among own property divided
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō ratō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū lut-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having gone many
 dīn naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingānī
days not became this-much-in he riotous having become own property
 nabaļō narab kōļ kichī Ū wāsarē kōļi khūpar wā
all evil doing was done He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaddō dukāļ nad-ke wā-kū naribī barawādī Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came He that
 dēs-kā khēk damōlō khuiē nākri rhōkwādo E damōlō wā-kū
country-of one man near in-service remained This man him
 kurnā narānē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō Utthē chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent There hunger-from
 nhandat hōbar-ke kurnā dutōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpat chhīl
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kun-kē pēsō-sē kuch bī naī dhimlē
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything even not was got
 Yēsō thōkē dīn hitwādyā, khāpnō ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwādō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpat chhīl-ke jāstī dūtan dhimlē, mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got, I here hunger-from
 lugnalō Mē khutwād-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hit-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō - Mē tērō
“father, I God-of son father-of son tying took I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh naĩ Ma-kū khēk nākārī sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt ” ’ Yātrī khul-ke whā-sī khut ke
of-thee near keeping take ” ’ So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke . chigīt-lit-ke chithī lōtke chummā bētwādō
 pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck loss took
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagādī Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādī nūk kōlwadī Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before son did Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jūn ’ Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākār-kū khulwādyō, ‘nīrō gipadā
not ’ That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nīrāw, khānglī-mē chundadī ghalōd, gōnē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on, finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd, dūtnē-kū chhēgē kōlō Hamē dūt-ke nūśāl
shoes put, eating-for preparation make We having-eaten merry
 hōbrangē, kā-chōlē-tō yē mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nīrku jik barō,
shall-become, why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came,
 nukitō-lit-yāsō, dhūmlō ’ Yē nhunke nablē nūśī hōbrē
lost-gone, was-found ’ This having-heard all glad became

Yē bakhat-kū wā-kō chaddō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawalnō nachannō bunakke barō Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came These
 nākār-mē khēk-kū chol-ke, ‘kā nālī hōbrē ? ’ nuchawādyō
servants-among one having-called, ‘what going-on is ? ’ asked
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, ‘tērō rhāklō barawādō, ū nīrō barke
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother came, he well having-come
 dhūmlō Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō ’ Ō
was-met That-of reason-from thy father feast made ’ That
 buq-ke wā-kō chaddō gelpō nusā hōbar-ke nītar litō naĩ
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, ‘nītar barawād,’
That-of reason-from his father outside having come, ‘inside come,’
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, ‘mē
having said him-to much ’said He own father-to said, ‘I

itnē	naras	tallakh	tērō	nāhri	kōl-ke	kabī	tērō	rhāyadi
so-many	years	up-to	thy	service	having-done	ever	thy	word
lugai	naī	Nir-ko	mērō	nōs-kū	dhimalā-lē-kē	dūtan	kōlnē-kē	
broke	not	But	my	friends	having-gathered	feast	making-of	
khān-sū	tū	ma-kū	khēk	dhilyā	bī	kabī	naī	Nir-tū
reason-from	thou	me-to	one	hid	even	ever	not	But
khirānd-kā	naugāt-mō		nad-ke	tērō	jingānī	nab	ningāl-bētēsō	
has lots-of	company in	khōk-kū	having-fallen	thy	property	all	devoured-having	
vē	tērō	gelpō	barē	narābar	tū	wā-kē	khāw-sē	dūtan
this	thy	son	coming	as-soon-as	thou	his	sake-for	feast
kōl	bētētō	Māwutō	gelpō-kū	chhōlwādō,	said,	'tū	nabaļē	din
making	given-hast	Father	son-to			'thou	all	days
mīrō	hyā	Mērō	pēsō	hōbrēsō	nab	tērō-ch	Lugitōsō	tērō
of-me	near	Mc-of	near	being	all	thine	Dead-being	thy
rhāk]ō,	nirkū	baritō,	nukitō	hityāsō,	dhimlō	Yēsō	hamē	nuśi
brother,	again	came,	lost	gone,	was found	So	we	mercy
hōbarkū	narābar	hōbrē						
to-become	property	is						

[No 29]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYÄNWÄLE OR LIÄRI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Khêk	nānd-mē	dōg	chōngnē	chhōt	nōs	hōbrō	Khêk	din
One	village-in	two	beggar s	much	friends	were	One	day
dōgū	dhimal-kē		nar-dēs-kū	hit-kē	khāw-sō	nichāi		
both	having-come-together		other-county-to	going-of	sake-for	thinning		
kōl-ke	khāpnī	pēsō	hōbrēsō	thōkō	lōkō	khêk	khiswāsūk	
having-made	self	near	being	little	money	one	honest	
chhudikī-kō	nābē-mē	khich-ke,	'hamē	dōgū	dhimal-ke			
old-woman-of	possession-in	having-given,	'we	both	having-come-together			
chōngkū	barē-tō	yē	ham-kū	khichawād,'	yēsō	chōl-ke	nimal	hitē
asking-for	come-if	this	us-to	give,'	so	having-said	away	went
Khagādi	thōkō	din-kē	khūpar	wā-mē-sē	khūklā	nir-ke	wā	
Then	few	days-of	upon	them-in-of	one	having-retained	that	
chhudikī-kō	pēsō	hit-ke,	'māwutī,	māiō	nōs	rāt-mel	lugitō,	
old-woman-of	near	having-gone,	'mother,	my	friend	road-on	died,	
wā-kī	khāw-sē	hamārō	lōkō	khichawād,'	yēsō	khulwādō	I	chhōt
that of	sake-for	our	money	give,'	so	said	She	many
nabab	khulwādī,	lēkin	ū	bunkō	naī	Nhēwatī	i	wā
excuses	said,	but	he	heard	not	At-last	she	that
wā-kū	khichō	Thōkō	din-kē	khūpar	dukarō	wā	chhudikī	pēsō
him-to	gave	Few	days-of	upon	the-second	that	old-woman	near
bar-ke	nēt	chōngwādī	Tab	wā	chhudikī,	'rhākļō,	thōkō	
having-come	purse	demande	Then	that	old-woman,	'brother,	few	
din-kā	ripohē	tērō	nōs	bai-ke,	tū	lugitō,	rēsō	chōl-ke
days-of	behind	thy	friend	having-come,	thou	diedst,	so	having-said
lōkō	chōngwādē	Wā-sē,	"tum	dōgū	dhimal-ke	barawād,"		
money	demande	Him-to,	"you	both	having-come-together	come,"		
rēsō	chhōt	chōlwādō	Ū	mārō	rhāyadi	naī	bun-ke	nulum-sē
so	much	said	He	my	word	not	having-heard	force-with
nab	lōkō	bētētō	Wā-sē	ū	naikār-kō	pēsō	nurādē	
all	money	took-away	That-from	he	government-of	near	compliment	

hitō Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chulā-kū bēt-kū nabaḷi
went Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuchō
facts asked

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road, therefore give my money to me'. She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARĪ

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr W Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsīya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *silkī* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks, and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmālī* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers, others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachāra*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājārō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājwā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Roman *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.	Number
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KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*Folk songs and Folk lore of the Gehara (Kanjars).* *ibidem*, pp. 437ff. Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem*, pp. 609ff. (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753ff. (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this

Survey a dialect Kanjarī was returned from the following districts —

United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	6,735
Aligarh	.	.	.	.	.	800
Farrukhabad	.	.	.	.	.	435
Sitapur	.	.	.	.	.	3,000
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	2,500
Central India	.	.	.	.	.	350
Gwalior	.	.	.	.	.	350
TOTAL						7,085

These figures are only loose estimates. Thus the number of Kanjars in Sitapur, where the estimated number of speakers was 3,000, was only 814 at the Census of 1901. On the other hand specimens of Kanjarī have been forwarded from Etawah and Belgaum, where no such dialect was reported to exist. The state of affairs is similar to that which we find in the case of other vagrant tribes. The Kanjars largely adopt the dialect of their neighbours. If they want to avoid being understood, however, they, or at least some of them, avail themselves of an artificial argot, in which there is a certain number of peculiar words and where, in addition to these, ordinary words are used, but often in an altered shape, so as to become unintelligible to outsiders. So far as we can judge from the specimens, however, Kanjarī differs from other Gipsy argots such as Naṭī in having a more uniform base. The prevailing language in Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah is Western Hindī and in Sitapur and Kheri Eastern Hindī, while Kanarese and Marāṭhī predominate in Belgaum. The specimens received from all these districts, however, agree in so many particulars that we are almost justified in talking of a separate dialect. This dialect is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, just as we should expect in the case of a vagrant tribe. But the mixture seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy. The specimen received from Kheri, it is true, is written in Western Hindī, and only forms such as *ḍalā-mē*, in the heart, *basindā*, an inhabitant, show that the Kanjars from whose lips the specimen was taken down were not quite imbued with the grammar of that language. It seems likely that the Kheri specimen represents an attempt at talking Hindōstānī and not Kanjarī, and we can safely leave it out of consideration when trying to define the position of the latter. Also the Farrukhabad specimen is strongly influenced by Hindōstānī.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*, thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh), *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*, thus, *nanhāi-chahrā̃-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh), *aisā̃-sē*, years from (Sitapur), *nanhrā̃-lu*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form, thus, *ibō-lē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur), *bihāi-ō-mē*, in the property (Etawah), *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad), *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural, thus, *chūbhō*, son, *chūbhā*, sons, *bāphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities require some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other agots such as Dōm, Nāṭi and Sāṭi.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *lu*, *lū*, *lē* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sē̃* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Malvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *lā*, *lī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *udeiya*, Kanarese *da*¹.

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun, thus, *khachchhō napaū-lē̃*, to a good man (Sitapur), *ōchhō batrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah), *apnō kauri paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad), *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *yō*, *je*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *uō-nē*, by him (Aligarh), *uō lā*, his (Etawah), *igal*, this matter, *lēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad), *ūr*, *buō*, he, *urō lō*, his (Sitapur), *yō*, thou, *yūō-lu*, *uō-lu*, to thee, *uō-lu*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian, compare Tulu *ī*, Kui and Old Telugu *īru*, you, Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōndī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *i* is frequently suffixed, compare *hubbāi rai-i-ē*, is going on (Aligarh), *lugar-i-ō*, he beats (Sitapur), *īah-i-ō*, he remained (Aligarh), *ā-i-ō*, he came, *sun-i-ō*, he heard (Etawah), *ā-i-ō*, he came, *lugar-i-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur), *lut-r-ō*, I struck, *gang-r-ō*, I went, *dusā-r-ō*, I said, *hu-i-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *i* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pākṛī ablative postposition *dō*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past, thus, *lai-i-s*, did, said, *lhā-i-s*, ate, *pī-r-s*, drank, *karī-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh) ¹

Often the syllable *icār* or *bār* is added, compare Myānwālē *wād*, Ḍōm *ua* Thus, *bat-icār*, dividing, *jibbār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur), *sun-icār-lo*, having heard, *kar-icār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum), *baṭ-bār*, having divided, *li-bbār-lē*, having taken, *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *icār*, thus, *mil-wād-ō hē*, *mil-wād-dō*, and *mil-icār-ō*, he is found, *tud-wād-ō*, broke, *pad-icād-lo*, having fallen, and so forth It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *ō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *icāw*, Jaipurī *ād*, Gujarātī *āw*, *ād* Forms such as *lhanēlō kai-wā-ō kai*, thou hast made a feast, *charicārdō*, grazing, *bandicār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals In most cases, however, the addition of *icār* does not seem to affect the meaning

This use of added *i*, *icār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*, compare *larō*, did, *lagō*, began (Etawah) Forms such as *dinō*, gave, *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipurī The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh), *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave, *lis*, took, *sunigulis*, heard, *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), *linhis*, took, *dins*, gave (Etawah), *lakhārs*, said, *rūchhis*, asked, *laughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī They are not met with in the Belgaum texts

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum Compare *lahsū*, I will say, *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh), *lakhāwsū*, I will say, *lugaoghasi*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur), *huggā*, it will be, *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad), *hōicungā*, I shall be, *kuṭungō*, I shall beat (Belgaum) Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī In Etawah we find forms such as *jānū*, I shall go, *kahnū*, I shall say They may be compared with the Jaipurī forms ending in *lō* Compare also Naipālī

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī Another feature seems to point in a different direction Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d* Compare *tildō*, giving, *augadō*, coming, *jaugadō*, *jāddō*, gone (Aligarh), *maddō*, dying, *kaddō*, doing, *rahāndō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah), *lugaōddō*, bending, *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur), *hōndō*, being, *nikhadō*, going, *awadō*, coming, *margōddō*, dead (Belgaum) It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles They are also contained in verbal forms Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahes* both meaning 'was', and the latter being the Awadhī form In many dialects, especially in Western Pabāpī this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahānd* is the 'sister' of *hōnd* — G. A. G.

time, thus, *chalgudaĩ*, I go, *dūtdaĩ*, they eat (Aligarh), *lugdaĩ*, I die, *aughadō*, he is coming (Sitapur), *maĩadū*, I die, *dēndū*, I give, *āndū*, I come, *nikkhaĩdaĩ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handō*, was (Aligarh), *jāĩdō*, was sent (Etawah), *āndā*, came, *laĩndā*, said (Farrukhabad), *hūĩdō*, was, *lugaōdō*, struck (Sitapur), *handō*, was, *bharicāĩ-lēndō*, would have filled, *gawāĩdē-gaudō*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndō* of the present participle of Sindhī and Naipālī. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarī, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lagirō*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur), *āgōgirō*, came, *augirō*, came, *gaugirō*, went, *lugaughirō*, I have beaten, *jaoghirō*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is, *iru*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōĩd dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die, *lugaĩ*, beat (Sitapur), *chūbhlō*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur), *tipuĩ*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur), *jhūĩlil*, dog (Sitapur), *dūt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur), *thūr*, eat (Belgaum), *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur), *gundālē*, foot (Belgaum), *gurārō*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur), *tūĩ*, give (Sitapur), *kīdō*, give (Belgaum), *rih*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur), *nandō*, house (Belgaum), *lāĩjarō*, man (Etawah), *kājarō*, man (Belgaum), *najaũ*, man (Sitapur), *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur), *nīmāĩnĩ*, water (Sitapur), *nucāĩnĩ*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pādō*, bull, *awarō*, comes, *kīdō*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mādu*, bull, *vara*, come, *kodu*, give, respectively, and *tūr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhimrĩ*, bread, *ghamēlā*, sun, *khaĩnch*, thief, *khuth*,

night, *kūich*, drink, *mīlatch*, death, *minghār*, ghee, *rikā*, rupee, *tigro*, see, *tūbargo*, swim, *tūriah*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Roman *lham*, sun, *lit* heat.

With regard to the word *ghūlāl*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *ghūkal* in Mr Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *gulal*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qaşāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp 180ff, and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *lō* is prefixed in *lōhath*, hand (Sitapur), *lh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *lhachchā*, good, *lhalāl*, famine, *lhyārō-lē*, of the friends (Aligarh), *lhamāl*, property (Kheri), *lhāgēlē*, before, *lhādmī*, man, *lhaicāj*, sound, *lhalāl*, famine (Sitapur), *lhandar*, inside, *lhūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials, compare *chibaricā-lū*, to fill (Aligarh), *chibrō*, big, *chibhāi*, brother, *chhūlā-sē*, from hunger, *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur), *chait*, sit, *chibaddō*, big, *chaulā-lē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *lakhni*, eye, *dhaiīb*, poor, *dhlāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*), *dhusī*, merry (Sitapur), *dharō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *l* or *lh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur), *nayaū*, man, compare *lājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pādō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *mādu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ*, *bēl*, one, *baur*, and, *būō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rahriā-lō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh), *rahnāō*, put on, *īarmēsur*, God, *rusāk*, cloth, *riūchhūs*, asked, *īanāi*, make, *rahut*, much, *rūlak*, country, *ranjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds, compare *ruāb*, answer, *ramā*, together, *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lahāūsū*, I will say (Sitapur), *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *līlārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *ī* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gunārō*, foot, *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh), *chhutārō*, small, *thurārā*, few (Sitapur), *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available —

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come, *liūghis*, took, *haughē*, is (Sitapur), *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum) The initial consonant of the suffix *gu* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind

An element *etō* or *ēthō* is comparatively often added Thus, *papētō*, sin, *malēthō*, property (Aligarh), *hattētō*, hand, *khanētō*, food (Belgaum)

A dental has been added in words such as *īantā*, pity (Sitapur), *chamakdē*, lustre, *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum)

A common suffix is *ēlō*, thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand, *batēli*, words (Aligarh), *lisēlū*, share, *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur), *kakēlē*, eye, *jībēli*, tongue (Belgaum) Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō*, thus, *dubēlū*, two, *tibēlū*, three, *bap-hēlō*, father, *bhus-hēli*, chaff, *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp 180ff that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR

Bēk najaū dubclū chūbhā raughasā Bithi-mā chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō lusēlū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr'
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give'
 Bihī batwār tiūris Thurārā dīn-hēlā chhutārō chūbkō
He having-divided gave Few days-in small son
 ramā-kai-kē iūlak chailō gaughurō, baur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhus Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghurō, baur dharīb hō-gaō Tab us rōlkō-mā bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to live began He own field sown
 chariwnē pathāis Birō chaughurō bhus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūta-dāī
to-seed sent He wished husks which sown eating-were
 dūt-kē pit-hēlō bharighis Nak-hēlū kōi na tiūris Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill But anybody not gave Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mēiō bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū tipūi bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughurī, baur māī chhūkā-sē lugdaū Māī khunar-kē
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "nāī bap-hēlā, māī-nē
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasmānō-kē dhalāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis, māī tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before in done-was, I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi " ' Tab
son one-to be called not Me servants-of like make " ' Then
 bihī apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughurō Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē
he own father near went Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kinhus, baur rapat-kē urō-kō dhalā
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāī lūghis, baur rahut chumhēlō Chūbkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kīnhaũ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kīnhaũ, birā lāk-kō
of-thee sm I-did, and God-of sm I-did, now worthy
 nahĩ kī phir tērō chũbkō lakhāũ ' Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called.' Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, ' aohhī rusāk nīphar hāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō,
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on,
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthī gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō Ham dutāĩ
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on We may-eat
 baur dhusī° hōē Mērō chũbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jībārō,
and merry may-be My son dead become-was, now revived,
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō ' Tab woh dhusī karnũ lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found.' Then they merry to-make began
 Chibrō chũbkō nētō-mā hũdō Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was When house-of near came,
 gabbārībō nach-hēlā-kī khawāj sunghirō Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard And one servant-to
 rulāo kē riūchhis, ' yō kā haughē? ' Wō us-sē lakhāis, ' tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? ' He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāĩ aughirō, tērō bap-hēlā-nē barī rāfat kīnhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came, thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachchhō paughis ' Ruthwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na Birō-kē
well found' Angry got inside went-not Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāũnō lagirō Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began Father-to answer
 tūris, ' tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māĩ tērī dhujmit karũ, tērē dhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do, thy order-of
 dhilāp na chalughē Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō kī māĩ
against not went One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sāth dhusī ranāutō Jaisē tērō chhutārō chũbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khurāis, tū bunhā-kī barī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kīnhis ' Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, ' aī chũbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest' Him-to he said, ' O son, always thou of-me
 tir hāis, jō mērō haughē, sō tērō baughē Dhusī
near art, what mine is, that thine is merry
 ranāē, dhusī hurū, tērō chibhāĩ lugirō-thō, sō jībārō, khubbār
should-make, merry should-be, thy brother dead-was, he revived, lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō '
gone-was, again was-found'

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindostāni, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows

[No 31]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ

SPECIMEN II

DISTRICT KHERI

Ēk bāpkē dō nēkrū thē Lahaurē nōkrē-nē apnō bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnō khamāl wis-mē-sō mērā bātā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bātē-mē āc' Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrō-kō balwā bātī
my share in may-come' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 divā Aur lahaurē betē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr kē
was-given And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khaurī-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareō aur
squandered All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woh hō gayā nangā Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked That country-in one resident-of near
 jāī lagā Us-nē usē sūī chugānē-kō khēt-mē
having-gone attached-himself Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā Apnē dilā-mē sōchā kī un chhulō-kō jō sūr khāilā
sent Own heart-in thought that this hush which swine ate
 un-par pēt bharē, us-kō kōī khānē-kō dētā nahī thā Apnē
those-on belly may-fill, him-to anybody eating-for giving not was Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā kī, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōtī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martī-hū Maī utī-hē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahangrā-hū kī, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kaiā Is lāek hū ab
me-by shy and of-thee big son was-made This worthy am now
 nāhī kī phur tērā bētā kahangrā, kī bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ēk mujhē bhī lāgī jān''
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider''

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindī.

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT AUNGMYE

Kimu ka dö chühka thi Iramē se chhoqen bapō
Some-one-of two sons were This in form go over to father to
 kairs ki, 'hīpū, attha mē se tiddo mē se' Iren dula ka
said that, 'father, property in form over over' Hu by father to
 bathir dis Thora duna mē chhoqē batro mabtho lakētho
having-divided gave I am doing in small at property to other
 kairs, apno libbār ka par des chaluro garuro Huñ phlald
made, own having taken other-counting word is ' This is other one
 kairs aur khārs pīr urārs bhach bar tildē, rābbaro nā
did and ate drank squandered expends-brack, gave received 'at
 kachhu Tab huñ khakal dharro huro Dat des tārā huro
anything Ther there taking in become I eat is over I use
 pallē na rūrō Tab kimu bhāwano kō hilla re huñ
in-possession not remained Than son rich man of expends at in the
 jā lagirō Uro-m apno nēñ-mē hurur chuzanu bhay re
going was attached Han-by own fields in went to tend sent
 Wuñ chahdo tho, 'jin khapṭi ghurur dūdo tho wu māi bi thā
He wishing was, 'which his is some eating were those I eat eating
 tukhulo chibarwā-kū hundo' Uñ ko koi tiddo iñ Tab
belly filling-for am(-prepared)' Him-to anyone giving to' Then
 urō-kū khōs ā-grō, tab uro-nī kairs ki, 'tgo ki mēre bapō kō
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
 bahutērā rahuī tipuñ dūtdō ur chhūārō papardāñ Ab māi
many servants bread are eating and hungry I-darce Now I
 chalgudañ bapṭi-kē thaur jūgsū ur uro-se kahsū, "bap tē māi nē
am-going father-of near will-go and him to will-say, 'father, me by
 tērē igē Bhagwānō-kō papṭō kēro, ab māi tēro chubbō kahwī
of-thee before God-of sin was-done, now I thy son to-say
 lak na rahro Apna rahuā-kut uā-mē mo kū rikhw d-lo' '
seeing not am Own servants among me putting take''
 Huñ-se wu chahigurō bapō-kē thaur aūgīro Daro sē tūgdē bapṭi-kī
Ther-e-from he moved father-of near came Far-from seeing father-of
 chhātī bhariyārī, wūñ-sē nipharro, urō kū garī-se lagi his aur
breast was-filled, ther-e-from went, him-to neck to clasping too' and

Bahut chummi ho Bipō sē batrī-nē karsan ki, 'ō bāpū, tērē
 much less than I father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee
 is Bhagwanō ko papētō karo, māī tērō chūbko kahwā lāk na
 be ere God-of sin was-done, I thy son to-say worthy not
 rahō' Tab bāpō-nē naukar chakrī-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē
 re n ed' Then father by servant's to said that, 'good-in
 khachh tupkā hīkro aur urī-kū pēdīwō, aur urī-kō khatlā-mē
 and clothes I and him to put-on, and him of hand-on
 chhachh pēdī til aur urī-kī gufārī-mē gufārī dār til Chalō,
 and feet on and him of foot-on shoes putting give Come,
 bhānī bhāgusī kit-kū ki mero ji batrō mar-gōgirō, phēr ji
 again be shall of, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive
 pāro ji angido ruro tho, phēr a-gogirō' Aur sab khusi
 be, be but remaining was, again came' And all merry
 hōn hōn
 to be be

Uro angirō uro ko bāp batrō nē-mē thō Uro angirō aur jab
 That after he of his son fields in was He came and when
 pēdī thānē pahūchirō urō nē gawa-ko aur nachwā-kō khābās
 he of was came him by singing of and dancing-of sound
 angirō Aur uro nē ekō nukrahī bulhārs aur lakhārs ki, 'ji
 angirō' And he by one servant called and said that, 'this
 ekō bulhār rahi' Aur uro nē uro se ji lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōtō
 ekō son of is' And him by him to this said that, 'thy small
 bhānī bhānī aur tērō Tērō bāpō nē khātari kari-gurō, kit-kū-ki urō
 brother returning came Thy father by feast done-was, because he
 chhōtō nē angirō' Tab uro-ko ris a-gogirō, bithi-sē uro-kō bapētō
 ekō ekō came' Then him to anger came, therefore him-of father
 rahi hīkro angido ruro uro-ko manilo Urō-nē bapētā-kū
 he of from having come out came was him enticed Him-by father-to
 utar di, 'tu bāp tigi, itnā barsī-sē māī-nē tērī khēbari
 answer was given, 'thou father so, so-many years-from me-by thy service
 hōn, bādhar tērī bādhi diraurī nē, tau-bī tērī ek rakriā-kō
 was done, ever thy word was broken not, still thee by one goat-of
 richi ho mō hō na tillo ki apna khyārī-kō sang rauj ufādō,
 young one me to not was given that own friends of with merry might-make,
 pari pari ji tērō chūbko aro, urō-nē hurikāpachō-mē malētho sab
 but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all
 urī di, tō nē uro-kō hīnē patlī dīnī' Uro-nē
 squandering gave, thee by him of for the sake feast was given' Him-by

urō-sī lakhārs, 'ī chūbkā, tū kadū mer thaur rabbirō, jō mīre
him-to said, 'O son, thou always at-me near art, what at-me
 pasēlō hubbīrō, sō sab tērō-ī hubbīr. Ham thusi barugī, bit lū-ki
near is, that all thine only is We merry shall make, because
 tērō jī bhayārī marugirō, phēr jabbār-ī, aur jī jōdō raurō,
thy this brother dead was, again having come to-life, and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gūgirō'
again came'

The specimens received from Utawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *janō*, I will go, *lotō* I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī

[No 33]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

KANJARI

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH

Kisi kãjarũ-kẽ dũ batrã the Ochlõ batrã-nẽ dã-sẽ kahĩ
Some man-of two sons were Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 kĩ, 'arẽ dũ, bihãrõ mẽ jũ mẽrõ rĩkã hai, mẽrõ dẽ-dẽ'
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give'
 Tab us-nẽ un-kõ apnĩ bihãrõ bãṭṭ dinã Bahut din
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given Many days
 [na] hõgã kĩ õchlõ batrã sab kuchh ikatthã kar-kẽ dũsrẽ
[not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kõ gawã au apnĩ bihãrõ uãwã Tab wã mulk-mẽ
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered Then that country-in
 barõ akãl pairõ aur vah kangãl hõ gawã Aur wã
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went And that
 mulk-kẽ rihandõ-mẽ-sũ ãk-kĩ jahã rahan lagõ, jis-nẽ usẽ apnẽ
country-of inhabitants in from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khẽtõ-mẽ suar chãrã jãdõ Aur un chhĩmyõ-sẽ jinhẽ suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent And those husks-from which swine
 khãtẽ thũ apnõ udrõ bhar lĩhis, aur kõi na dẽnẽ tũ Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was Then
 usẽ chẽtany huẽ, tab wã-nẽ kahĩ kĩ, 'mẽrẽ dã-kẽ
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kĩnẽ majũrõ-kõ jãfat-sẽ barh rõṭĩ hõṭĩ hai, aur mãĩ
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhũkhõ maddõ hũ Mãĩ uth-kẽ apnẽ dã dhĩg jãñũ aur
with-hunger dying am I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wã-sẽ kahñõ kĩ, "he dã, mãĩ-nẽ baikunth-kẽ ultẽ ãp-kẽ sũdhẽ
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pãp karõ hai Mãĩ phĩr ãp-kã batrã kahãnẽ kãm-kã nahĩ
sin done is I again your-Honour-of son to be-called worthy not
 Mujhẽ apnẽ majũrõ-mẽ-sẽ ãk-kẽ barabbar karwã"
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make"

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindũstãnĩ Note also Pañ-jãbĩ terminations such as *bich, vich*, in, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *Jaggã*, began The general character of this form of Kanjarĩ will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows

[No 34]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARUKHANABAD

Ikk chör kisū ghar-bich ghus-gavā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhmī lagga
One thief some house-in entering went and darkness-in to search began
 kī, 'kōi dāmō-di chij hāth laggē, tō lai jāū'
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be applied, then taking may-go'
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar laggi Chör-nē utthā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied Thief-by having-lifted
 hā Sandūkh bhāri thā Man-rieh suchchā kī, 'i-mī
was taken Box heavy was Blind-in it-was thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā' I-gal man-rieh sōch ghar-sū bāhar andā
property will-be' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyā-rieh jhārī-dī ōt wāth-lar kī-sū tllā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush of behind having sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā kī, 'unā-dā māl nikāsū' I kartū
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take out' This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai jī-sū bījā bījno
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to play
 laggā Chör-nē dar-dē mārē bājā prāk-mārā aur sanūdē
began Thief by fear-of from instrument was-thrown down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā I bīg-dā māli chör-dē praggān dē
life taking fled This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 what-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā kī, 'i kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhī-dā jān parā kī jhārī-rieh bījā-dē āwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai Tō i-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā
remaining is Then this-to thief-from small fear not was attached
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālīk-sē
Fear-of on-account gardener also thec-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 i-gal laindā kī, 'bagiyā-rieh bhūt ā-gavō' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē ōt khūsī karandā-hī
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

• In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjari. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekkan	kājarō-ku	jaudō	baidā	handā	Unā-mā	nunkō	baidō
One	man-to	two	sons	were	Them-among	younger	son
apanē	bāpō-ku	sidārō,	'bāpō,	tērō	jindgī-mā	mērō	ēwākō
own	father-to	said,	'father,	thy	property-in	mine	coming
mau-ku	kidō	Bāpō-nē	unā-mā	apani	jindgī	batwārrō	Nunkō
me-to	give	Father-by	them-among	own	property	divided	Younger
baidō	apani	hissō	lēwar-ko	dūr	gaū-kō	nikhar-ko,	bahut
son	own	share	taking	far	village-to	having-gone	many
hōiā-nā	ittā-mā	ē	dundī	hōwār-ko	apani	jindgī	sab
became-not	this-much-in	he	notous	having-become	own	property	all
lutwārrō	Ē	aisō	karwār-ko	khūpar	wō	mulkō-mā	chibaddō
wasted	He	thus	having-done	after	that	country in	big
girwār-ko	urū-ki	garibī	awarri	Ē	wō	mulkō-mā	ekkan
having-fallen	him-of	poverty	came	He	that	country-in	one
kājarā-kē	pās	naukrī	rhairō	Wō	kājarō	urō-ku	dukrē
man-of	near	in-service	stayed	That	man	him	swine
apani	khētō-ku	lagā-dīnū	Whā	bhūkō-dē	talmal-ko	dukrē	
own	field-to	employing-gave	There	hunger-from	having-suffered	swine	
khāndāsō	bhussō-bi	thūr-ko	pētō	bharwār-lēndō,	phir-tu	urū-ku	
eaten	husks-even	having-eaten	belly	filling-took,	but	him-to	
kirō-kē	pās-dē	kā-bi	milwārō-nā	Aisō-ch	thōdā	din	
anybody-of	near-from	anything-even	was-got-not	Thus	few	days	
hurā,	apani	pichawādkē	batēli	yād	hōwār-ko	ē	apani
became,	own	former	state	remembrance	having-become	he	own
jī-mā	dusārō,	'mērō	bāpō-kē	hyā	aisā	bahutdē	naukrā-ku
mind-in	said,	'my	father-of	with	so	many	servants-to
bharwār-ko	jāstī	hōwār-ittō	khanētō	milwāddō,	phir-tu	hyā	
having-filled	excess	becoming-so-much	food	is-got;	but	here	
maī-tō	bhukā-dē	mardū	Maī	khut-ko	mērō	bāpō-kē	
I-on-my-side	hunger-from	dying-am	I	having-arisen	my	father-of	
hyā	nikhar-ko	dusārō,	"bāpō,	maī	mahābūb-kō	pāp	awar
there	having-gone	say,	"O-father,	I	God-of	son	and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-kī wā-ku
father-of sin attaching took I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā, mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rahhwār-tē ''
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take ''
 Ē whā-dē khut-ko apani bāpō-kē pās awardō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukad-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embracc-
 lē-ko chummā dinō Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, 'bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given Then son father-to said, 'father,
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambōr tērō sambōr takhsīr karō-hū Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-hate Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusār-nō-nā' Use bāpō-nē apani naukrō-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not' That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, 'ufchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw, ungalva-mā
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on, finger-on
 angōtī dalwārō, gundālē-mā jūtā dalwārō, khañētā-kī tayāri
ring put, feet-on shoes put, dinner-of preparation
 karwār Hamē thur-kō khusāl hōwungā Kaikutu yō mērō
make We having-eaten merrry shall-become Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri, gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē' Yē
son died, again life came, lost-gone, found-is' This
 sunwār-ko sārā khusāl hurā
having-heard all merry became

^

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō Ē
This time-at his big son field-in was He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gānō awar rang sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarrō Ē naukar-mā-dē ekkan-ku chaulā-ko, 'kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'what going-on
 hē?' dusār-ko puchwārrō Use ē sidārō, 'tērō bhai
is?' having-said asked That-to he said, 'thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khusī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for the sake thy
 bāpō-nē khañtō karwārō-hē' Yō sunwār-ko urō-ku chibaddo baidō
father-by feast made-is' This having-heard he big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhar awar-ko,
inside went-not That for his father-by outside having-come,
 'khandar awar,' kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō 'Use ē apani
'inside come,' having-said him-to much was said That to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maĩ itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō batēli tudwādō-nā Phir-tō-bī maĩ mērō dōstaĩ-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not But I my friends-to having-collected
 khañēṭō karwār-ko wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkan bakrā bī
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dīnō-nā Phir-tu rāṇḍaũ-ke sōbatī-mā padwād-ko tērō sārī jindgī
given-not But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 mingal-linōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thce
 urō-ko wāsdē khañēṭō karwārō-hē ' Bāpō-nō baidū-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is ' Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō sangāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
' thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē,
thine-only is Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is,
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē Aisō bamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādīk hē '
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is'

[No 36]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Brüdō, maī kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maī
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maī ārō barōbar dīn nigarō Yō utawā-ko
cast-from come, and I come immediately day comes You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maī mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō kludkī-mā-dē
time comes then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uthāndū Yō bichhāpā-pō padwād rhaiko
stretched having-made you awaken You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maī āndū-nā Yō utwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb padwā-ke
for I come-not You having-risen to bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sālī-ku nikhār-wā-kē wāsdē maī āndū. Maī nīrō chalwār-nēwālō hū
for school-to to-go for I come I good walker am.
 Maī rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkān dīn
I road having-walked sly-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū Maī kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō sir-pō jhalak
becomes I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not My head-on shining
 sunnā-kī tāj hē Us-kī chamakdē maī chau-taraph phēkadū-hē
gold-of crown is That-of light I four-directions throwing-am
 Nīwānī-pō nandā-pō dzhādū-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū Mērō chamakdē gīrrōsō,
Water-on houses-on trees on my rays spread My light fallen,
 sab chijc khapsūrat awar rōsanī nazar āndī Maī yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maī-ch dēndū Maī phalārī awar anāj pakāndū Maī
and sunshine also I-alone give I fruit and corn ripen I
 asinīnō-mā bahut kluñchō hū Sabi dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
sly-in much high am All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maī kluñchō hū
I high am

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east The moment I come, the day breaks When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you I don't come to see you lying in bed I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school I am a fast traveller I take but one day to travel round the whole sky I am never tired nor do I ever halt I have a shining gold crown upon my head I throw its light in all directions I spread my rays over water, houses and trees All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant I give you light as well as heat I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains

KUCHBANDHĪ

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūch*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *ō* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called Pārsī, or, according to Mr Kirkpatrick, Pāsī.

[No 37]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT

DISTRICT BAHRAICH

Ek gihar-kē dui batrā rahun Arō-mā-tū chhōṭkawā batrū aprē
One man-of two sons were Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōc
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō Thōrē dīn bītrē
that dividing give' Then dividing was-given Few days passed
 ohhōṭkawā batrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalākī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in casting
 dīnhō Jab kaurī nahī rah gayō tabc ū mulkō-mā
was-given When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basām-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō Ū arō-kō i kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began He him-to this said that,
 'khētān-mā suar char hāō'
'fields-in sunne tending take'

NATĪ

The Nats are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes, and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows —

Number of Nats.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,079
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
	TOTAL	126,428

The name Nat is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor'. It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahāri Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Nats.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Nats. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Nat language, returned under the name of *naṭṭī-bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī, Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows —

Language		
Bengal		4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584	
United Provinces		6,950
Aligarh	250	
Mainpuri	2,000	
Etawah	400	
Bijnor	1,000	
Rampur	300	
Kheri	2,500	
Bahraich	500	
	TOTAL	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Natī. The various clans classed together under the head of Nats speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsi. This argot has

Nat Argot

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Nats of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batīā*, sons, *batīā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrē-nē*, by the son, *qayō*, went, and *hlpā*, went, in Mainpurī, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Nats whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rajasthan. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Natī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Natī* and *Natō kī bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Nats.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Nats contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy, *būnā*, *chhāī*, water, *chhumlā*, day, *chhapnā*, go, *dimnā*, *dūtnī*, cat, *gēm*, *gam*, thief, *lājā*, cultivator, squire, *khollā*, house, *khum*, mouth, *lagnā*, die, *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull, *nāl*, night, *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned, *tōgnā*, drink, *tundā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 311-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. 1, 1862.

The great majority of Natī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor), *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpurī).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *h* is prefixed in forms such as *kōt*, eighth (Rampur), *kōdmī*, man, and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpurī). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khī-mālā*, property, *khīmēā*, my, *khandar*, inside, *khakāl*, famine, *khōtā*, small, *khm*, day, *khēlā*, belly, *khainā*, having put on, *khād*, after, *khujhē*, me (all from Mainpurī), *khachchī*, water, *khunaddī*, river, *khapanī*, water, *khabdā*, big one, Sir, *khabhēdīā*, wolf (all from Bijnor), *khanēt*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*, *khacholtē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūlal*, hungering, *chhulk* = *mulh*, country (Mainpurī), *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jatūp* = *bātā*, share, *javā* = *barā*, big (Rampur), *ghunā* = *burā*, evil, *gnāyā* = *bharyā*, brother (Mainpurī), but also in cases such as *ghēk*, one, *ghakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*, thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field, *nāttī* = *chhātī*, breast, *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting, *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri), *nichhē* = *pīchhē*, after, *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God, *nāth* = *sāt*, seven, *nū* = *tū*, thou, *nē* = *thē*, were, *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur), *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri), *bōi* = *aur*, and, *būki*, watchman (Rampur), and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *lahā*, said, *myō* = *hyā*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing, *mār* = *pyār*, love, *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluh*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word, thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field, *musikkhē* = *khusi*, merry, *mōṭāchhē-nē* = *chhōtē-nē*, by the younger one, *mēlēbē* = *bētē*, sons, *māpbē* = *bāp*, father, *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy, *muaisē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lalpā* = *chalā*, went, *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri), *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear, *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur), *rōtka* = *chhōtā*, small, *rabthō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp 180ff, in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāe*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khēṭar* = *pēt*, belly, *khimālar* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri), *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *h* and *g* in forms such as *laugā* and *kōkā*, said, *gaugā*, went, *rangā*, stayed, *paugā*, got (Mainpuri), *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur), *kujā*, made (Bijnor), cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor), *lugānā*, to beat (Rampur), *puchhwaō*, asked (Mainpuri), *t* in forms such as *khabāptā*, father (Etawah), *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give, *lalpā*, went, *lupāi*, applying, *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two, *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur), *kūlnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jālurnā*, go, *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri), *ālre*, came (Rampur), *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur), *āsīā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth

It will be seen from the figures given above on p 121 that most speakers of Natī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Natī slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tinge of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases, compare *rajēttō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jhaīā batrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields), *batrā-nē* and *batrē-nē*, by the son, *dhōr batrā hoichchā*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ)

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Bĕg rajĕttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichehē Uthī-mē-thi khōtē batrā-nē
One man-of two sons were Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūārā-thī kaugā kī, 'ēyō chhūārā, khumālai-kā khussā khumērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichehā hai thō khujhē deppī deppō ' Tō tabi uthī-nē khumālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give' And then him-by property-of
 kāt kūlli deppā Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabī
shares having-made was-given Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchh namā kūll-kē bēg dūi-kī khulk-kō hlpā Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went There own
 khumālai kuchālī khurāē deppā Aur jabī sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given And when all
 hoichehī gaugā uthī khulk-mē pharā khakāl hoichehā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichehī gaugā Tabi uthī khulk-kā bēg rajĕttō chīndā
in-want having-become went Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichehō, jithī-kē wah hgpī jālurā Aur uthī-nē ūthī-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went And him-by him own
 nūtī-mē taundā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā Aur wah lūgtā
fields-in sown feeding-for having-sent was-given And he dying
 hoichehā kī uthī chhulkō-thē jō taundā dimmatā hoichehā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khūtāi pharī leppē, kī kōi uthē deppatā khatī hoichehā
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was
 Jabī khos-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūārā-kē khitnē kōdmī
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tīwalī hoichehatī harī, māī chhūkal lūgtā hū Māī khuth-kē khapnē
bread becoming is, I by-hunger dying am I having-arisen own
 chhūārā pīs hlpūgā aur uthī-thē kaugūgā kī, "ēvō chhūārā, māī-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagis-kī aur tūrā jhurā kūllā, abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichehū
lacen of and of-thee sin was-done, now this fit not remained am

kī tērā batrā kaugī deppī jālurō Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go Me own
 kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khanāi leppō''' Tabī khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take''' Then having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās lūpā Aur wah abī dūi hoichehā kī uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went And he yet far was that him seeing
 khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur hīp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
 hgpāi leppā aur uthī kō khitnē khitā leppī leppā
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken
 Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā kī, 'ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē khagās-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and
 tērā jhurā kūllā, aur khatī kī phir tērā batrā kōi kaugā'
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call'
 Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā kī, 'chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, 'good good
 tūpkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō, aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give, and him-of
 khangurī-mē khangūthī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khamāi deppō, aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give, and
 hamī dīmīc aur nusi khamāē kī yah mērā batrā lūgī jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
 hoichehē, thō chindā ālurā, hurā bī khatī hoichehē jānē kiyā
was, he alive came, anywhere even not is to-know where
 gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichehē' Tabī nusi kūllnē raugā
having-gone stayed, now come is' Then merry to-make began

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichehā Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was When house-of-near came
 aur khunch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā kī, 'yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man to it-was-said that, 'this
 kyā hoichehā hai?' Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā kī, 'tērā jhaiyā
what become is?' And him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 ālurā hoichehē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dīmīnā-kō kūllā hai kī
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
 bithē chindā ālurā naukhā' Uthī-nē kitthā hoichehī gaugā kī
him well come was-seen' Him-by angry having-become went that
 bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house of inside not will-go Then him-of father-by there-from
 ālur-kē uthī namjāyā Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō mē kauga,
having-come him it-was-entreated Him by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

'naukh, itnē baras-thē maĩ tērī nidmat kūltā hoichchũ, aur khaḍ ī
'see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kūllā, kī tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, kī khapnē khuyāwrō-kē sangī nusi
young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kūllnō Aur jab tērā yah batrā ālurō jithī-nē tērā khimālai
to-make And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēttyō-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātthē jharī
women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kūllā ' Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, 'ēyō batrē, tū
good feasting-for was-made' Him-by to-him it-was-said, 'O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē Kī nusi hōnā nājum hoichchē kī tērā yah jhāiyā lugā
is But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā ālurā, aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
was, he well came, and anywhere even not was, he now
 ālurā hoichchē '
 come is'

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khus-kō bāṭō mētābē* (i.e. *bētā*), his younger son, *māpbar*, i.e. *bāpar*, by the father, *mājū ā-lō*, to the servants, *bhayō chhā*, had become, *rauchhū*, I remain, *maḥō* and *maḥā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words, thus, *mānēgā=gānē*, singing, *mūtājū=jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ)

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Khēk	makassē	dōs	mētēbē	thē	Un-mā-sē	mōṭāchhē-nē		
<i>One</i>	<i>man-to</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>	<i>younger-by</i>		
mahā,	‘ māpbē,	khumāl-kā	khissā	khimērā	mujhē	dē ’	Tab	
<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>‘ father,</i>	<i>proper ty-of</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>to me</i>	<i>give ’</i>	<i>Then</i>	
us-nē	khumāl	unhē	māti	diyā	Thōrai	din-kē	māt	
<i>him-by</i>	<i>proper ty</i>	<i>to-them</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days-of</i>	<i>after</i>	
mōtōchhē	mētēbē	sab-kō	mahāj	kar-kē	khēk	dūr-kī	chhulak-kō	
<i>younger</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>country-to</i>	
mupērsē	kiyā	Wahā	apnā	māl	ladchālī	’	khurpāyā	
<i>jour ney</i>	<i>was-made</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>in-bad-conduct</i>	<i>was-squandered</i>		
Jab	sab	mir-chukā-kīr	chukā	us	chhulak-mē	baīā	khakāl	parā
<i>When</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>had been-wasted-away</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>famine</i>	<i>fell</i>	
Khus	chhulak-mē	khēk	khirais-kē	yahā	kbajā	lagā		
<i>That</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>squire-of</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>was-employed</i>		
Khus-nē	khusē	khapnē	mētkhē	muarsē	charāban	gōchū	Wah	
<i>Him-by</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>in-fields</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>to-feed</i>	<i>it-was-sent</i>	<i>He</i>	
mahtā	thā	khi	khun	mirkāchhē	jō	muarsē	matēkhē,	apnā
<i>wishing</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>kushs</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>eat,</i>	<i>own</i>
mantayai	bharē,	khi	kōi	khusē	na	dētā	thā	Jab
<i>belly</i>	<i>may-fill,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>anyone</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>giving</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>When</i>
hōsh-mē	bhayō-chhā,	mahā	ki,	‘ merē	māpbē-kē	mājūrā-kō		
<i>sense-in</i>	<i>become-had,</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘ my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>servants-to</i>		
bahut	kharōṭi	haī	Khimaī	bhūkhō	martā	hū	Khimaī	
<i>much</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>with-hunger</i>	<i>dying</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>I</i>	
khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē	pās	jāūgā	aur	khusē	kahūgā,	“ a
<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>to-him</i>	<i>will-say,</i>	<i>“ O</i>
māpbē,	khāsmān-kā	khaur	mērātē	munāgai	kiyā ,	ab	is	
<i>father,</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>was-done ,</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>this</i>	
lāik	naithū	rōchhū	khi	tērā	mētābē	kahlāyū ,	mujhē	apnē
<i>fit</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>may be-called ,</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>own</i>
mājūrā-mē	khēk-sā	banā ” ’	Tabkhi	khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē		
<i>servants-in</i>	<i>one like</i>	<i>make ” ’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father-of</i>		

pās <i>near</i>	gayō- <i>chhū</i> <i>went</i>	Wah <i>He</i>	abhī <i>yet</i>	khudūr <i>far</i>	hatō, <i>was,</i>	khuse <i>him</i>	lakh-kē <i>having-seen</i>
khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	māpbē <i>to-father</i>	khurahm <i>pity</i>	bhayō, <i>became,</i>	khidaur-kē <i>having-in</i>	usai <i>him</i>	malēgē <i>to-neck</i>	
khilagāi <i>having-clasped</i>	lavō <i>was-taken</i>	aur <i>and</i>	bahut <i>much</i>	khimōmāchē <i>kissed</i>	Mētēbē-nē <i>Son-by</i>	khush <i>to-him</i>	
kōkā, <i>it-was-said,</i>	'ai <i>'O</i>	māpbē, <i>father,</i>	mē-nē <i>me-by</i>	agās-kā <i>heaven-of</i>	aur <i>and</i>	khutērē-kā <i>thee-of</i>	munāgai <i>sin</i>
kivā, <i>was-done,</i>	is <i>this</i>	kābil <i>worth</i>	naithū <i>not</i>	rauchhū <i>am</i>	kī <i>that</i>	tērā <i>thy</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>
kahlāvū' <i>I-may-be-called'</i>		Māpbai <i>By-the-father</i>	apnē <i>own</i>	nōkarō-kō <i>servants-to</i>	mahā <i>it-was-said</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	
'achchhi <i>'good</i>	achchhi <i>good</i>	mōsākayē <i>dresses</i>	khinikās <i>having-taken-out</i>	lāō, <i>bring,</i>	usē <i>him</i>	mahdhāē <i>putting-on</i>	
dō, <i>give,</i>	khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	khāth-mē <i>hand-on</i>	khangūthī <i>ring</i>	aur <i>and</i>	mābvē-mē <i>foot-on</i>	mūtājū <i>shoes</i>	mahdhāē <i>putting-on</i>
dō, <i>give,</i>	aur <i>and</i>	ham <i>we</i>	musikhē <i>merry</i>	manāē, <i>may-make,</i>	mvō-kī <i>because</i>	mērō <i>my</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>
islūk <i>dead</i>							
gavō <i>gone</i>	hatō, <i>was,</i>	ab <i>now</i>	muji <i>alive</i>	gayō, <i>went,</i>	mōkhāē <i>lost</i>	gavō, <i>went,</i>	ab <i>now</i>
milē <i>found</i>							
gavō' <i>went'</i>							
Tab <i>Then</i>	wē <i>they</i>	musikhē <i>merry</i>	karnē <i>to-make</i>	lagē <i>began</i>			
Khus-kō <i>Him-of</i>	barō <i>big</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>	mētakhē-mē <i>field-in</i>	hatō <i>was</i>	Jab <i>When</i>	marghē-kē <i>house-of</i>	
nazdik <i>near</i>	āyō <i>came</i>	mānēgā <i>singing-of</i>	aur <i>and</i>	ginchō-bartō-kī <i>dancing-of</i>	awāz <i>sound</i>	sulpī <i>was-heard..</i>	
Tab <i>Then</i>	khēk <i>one</i>	khinōkar <i>servant</i>	bulākē <i>having-called</i>	puchhwārō <i>it-was-asked</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'yah <i>'this</i>	kai <i>what</i>
hai? <i>is?</i>	Khus-nē <i>Him-by</i>	khuse <i>to-him</i>	mahō <i>it-was-said</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'tērā <i>'thy</i>	mabhai <i>brother</i>	āyō, <i>came;</i>
hus-kī <i>him-of</i>	tērā <i>thy</i>	māpbē-nē <i>father-by</i>	barī <i>big</i>	māfat <i>feast</i>	kari, <i>was-made,</i>	is <i>this</i>	hyē <i>for</i>
khī <i>that</i>							
bhalō <i>good</i>	mangōchi <i>sound</i>	pāyō' <i>was-got'</i>	Mussā <i>Anger</i>	kī, <i>was-made,</i>	na <i>not</i>	chāhā <i>wished</i>	khandar <i>inside</i>
kī <i>that</i>	jāē <i>may-go</i>	Tab <i>Then</i>	khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	māpbē-nē <i>father-by</i>	khumanpāyā <i>was-investigated</i>	Khush-nē <i>Him-by</i>	
bāp-nē <i>father-to</i>	jawāb <i>answer</i>	mēlō <i>was-given</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'lakh, <i>'see,</i>	itnē <i>so-many</i>	marasbē <i>years</i>	tērī <i>thy</i>
mujbat <i>service</i>	karpatō, <i>going-was,</i>	khahhū <i>ever</i>	tērē <i>thy</i>	khush-kē <i>order-of</i>	mubarkhilāf <i>against</i>	na <i>not</i>	chalē <i>went..</i>

Tū-nē	labhū	khaik	maḥarbi-kā	bachchā	na	diyā	kī
<i>Thee-by</i>	<i>ever</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>goat-of</i>	<i>young-one</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that</i>
apnē	mōstdē-kē	māsthē	musikhē	manāvũ	Jab	yah	mētābē
<i>own</i>	<i>friends-of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>merry</i>	<i>might-make</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>son</i>
tērā	āyō	jā-nē	tērā	māl	mēshyāē-mē	urāyō,	tū-nē
<i>thy</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>whom-by</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>harlots-among</i>	<i>was-wasted,</i>	<i>thee-by</i>
khus-kē	hyē	barī	māftaj	karpī	Khus-nē	khus-sē	
<i>him-of</i>	<i>sake-for</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>feast</i>	<i>was-made</i>	<i>Him-by</i>	<i>him-to</i>	
lōpī,	‘ai	mētēbē,	tū	sadā	mērē	māsyai	hai,
<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>son,</i>	<i>thou</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>of-me</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>art,</i>
jō-kuchh	mērā	hai	sō	khitērā	hai	Khumusikhē	manānā
<i>whatever</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>thine</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>Merry</i>	<i>to-make</i>
khususkhē	hōnā	marūrjē	tbā,	myũ-kī	tērā	yah	mabbāi
<i>happy</i>	<i>to-be</i>	<i>necessary</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>brother</i>
gayō,	sō	mijiyāō,	aur	mukhāē	gayō	thō,	sō
<i>went,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>revived,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>lost</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>he</i>
hai							<i>now</i>
is							<i>found</i>

A third specimen from the Mampuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Natī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Nat about a theft.

[No. 40]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Mōrich bhāī, us-mē khāik mutiwā gaō chhō Khāik mariwa
Theft was, that-in one kettle lost was One jug
 grī chhō Dō gamārī thō gaē Phir mānūthē-mē gayē
lost was Two plates were gone Then police-station-in went
 Mē-nē rapat karpī jāī mānathdār āyē lkh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 lkhāē-kē, phir māōgādī khapnē mānīthē-kō chālē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayō Kaohlhik nāyī mil-iyō Marōgādī-kai māsthō chīr sipīh
went Anything not being-found-came Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukīhdār āyē thē Mandrah wā sōlāh khadmī marōgādī-nē
there watchmen come were Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkatthē karpē tmānā-kī talāshī layī kī, 'is nat-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this nat-of
 mōrich hō gaī yā nāhī ' Khāik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not ' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā kī, 'mē-ic mōrich kaitē mēkhādē thē
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were
 Makasbāy-sē mīwāldē-māī khādī phāī dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gamī karpāt thē, sō bālī bachchē jag parpī
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up
 Tab gam bhāī gayē ' Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went ' Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiyā Tabkhī mē-nē khūptī sāhab-kō yahī kharjī dāī
was-done Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given
 Tab khūptī sāhab-nē magwāl bulvāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat kī mōrich bhāī kī nāhī bhāī ' Khūmāī
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was ' I
 bilkulkhī lut gayō Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māī mar jāūgā
then I dying shall-go

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpurī. Thus we find *bōhī ā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhī ā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

c

[No 41]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ)

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH

Kēhū	tēhā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē	Uhi-mā-sē		lahurā-nē		
<i>Some</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>		<i>younger-by</i>		
khābāptā-sē	kahā,	‘arē	khābāptā,	pūjī-māhī-sē	jō	hamārā			
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>‘O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-in-from</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>my</i>			
nāttīlī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bāt̃bē	Tab	uh-nē	uh-kō	apnī	māyā
<i>share</i>	<i>may-be</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>divide</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>wealth</i>
nāttīlī	kar	dī	Bōhit	din	nāhī	katē	kī	lahurā	
<i>shares</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>Many</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>passed</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>younger</i>	
bōhrā	sārī	pūjī	ikthī	kar	anthā		chhāē		
<i>son</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>another-country</i>		<i>having-gone</i>		
rahyō									
<i>stayed</i>									

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahārī Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rē*, *ē*, the locative suffix *nē*, forms such as *māīā*, *māhrā*, *my*, *nō*, *ie thō*, or *thā*, *I was*, forms such as *īahā*, *īahlā*, and *rehlā*, *was*, *dīnī*, *gave*, *kīnī*, *made*, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, *went*, *dudhtē*, *eating*, *dhōr*, *two*, *thēr*, *three*, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 180ff.

[No. 42]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR)

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR

Bik One	kudmī-kē man-of	dhōr two	nīklē sons	rahlē were	Khalōhrā-nē Younger-by	bāpsā-sē father-to
kūkā it-was-said	ke, that,	'bāpsā, 'father,	khātum-kā property-of	jatūp share	mōhē me-to	dīp-dēō, give,
bāppā-nē father by	dīp-dīvā was given	Nīhōrgī Few	khadīn days	nīchhē after	khalōhrā younger	nīklē-nē son-by
būkhī together	kōrlā was-made	bōr and	khadūr-kē distance-of	nīdhwī-kū country-to	gōghā went	bōr and
bīn dī-nū riotousness-in	rahārch spent		hupī becoming	gokī went	Phīn Then	ōh that
khamīr-kē rich-man-of	rōhlē house	gōghā went	Ōh-nē Iīm-by	rahō-nē fields-in	tundā pigs	nukānē to-graze
Bōr And	ōhē his	khāpīā desire	ke that	ōh those	kobō-sē husks-from	jō which
hāī are	īpān own	khānē belly	Phīn Then	ōh-nē him-by	kukā it-was-said	ke, that,
chhīntē servants	hāī, are,	ulhāī to them	tīōh breads	hāī, are,	bōr and	mēh I
Mēh I	āpān own	bāpsā-kē father-of	dhūgē near	chūpūngā will-go	bōr and	ōh-sē him-to
"bāpsā, "father,	mēh ne me by	ākās heaven	bōr and	tōhrē of-thee	thāmne before	rasōr sin
ab now	mōhē me	āpnī own	chhīntē servant	sāhī like	karbō," make"	Ōh He
dhūgē near	chūpā went	Bōr And	ōh he	khadūr far	rahā was	ke that
ōh-nē his	bāpsā-kū father-to	mōh affection	āyā, came,	bōr and	khātēh-kē having-run	ōhē him
lagē-hiyā was clasped	bōr and	chhōd much	rīchhā caressing	kili was-made	Bōr And	ōhē his
chhīntē-sē servants to	kūkā it-was-said	ke, that,	'kuchhē 'good	kuchhē good	ripō clothes	bāpsā father
						lēp-āō bring
						āpan own
						bōr and
						rahā was-sent
						dudhē eating
						bāpsā-kē father-of
						hū am
						ke, that,
						kukūngā will-say
						hēli, was-made,
						bāpsā-kē father-of
						nūkh-kar seen-having
						rīchhā neck
						āpan own
						bōr and

ōhē nīhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ūthī bōr gōnā-nē gōhnī nēbr-lāō;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on,
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke mährā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lugā rahā, phin khājiri gōghā hai, khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is, lost was, again found
 hai' Bōr ōh rusī rōhpō lāgē
is' And they merry to-be began

Bōr ōh-kā jarā nīklā rahat-nē rahā Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was When house-of near
 āyā bōr khēchnē-kī chur nōhnī Bik ohhīntē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard One servant-to
 kūkī ke, 'ē hūp hai?' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, 'tōhrā
it-was said that, 'this what is?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'thy
 bhrotī āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jari dutnā kēli' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made' Him-by
 rūś hupī gōghā khapivānā ke rōhlē na chulpē Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go Him-of
 hīpsā-nē khabāhar chīlap-kar khamnāyā Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated Him-by father-to
 kūkā, 'nūkh, chhōd khadīn hupī gač ke tōhrī khamētī
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā, bōr tōhrē kūknē-sē na chulpā Tōh-nē bīk
doing remained, and thy word-from not went Thee-by one
 ruhri-kī bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō Bōr jō tōhrā ōh nīklā āyā jō tōhrā
merry might-be And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khatum patnīyō-nē raharch hupī gōkī tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property hailots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dūtnī kinī' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'nīklē, tū sadā
big feast was-made' Him-by it-was-said that, 'son, thou always
 mōhrī dhigē hai, bōr jō mōhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai
at-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is
 Phin rusī rōhopnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
but merry to make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhrotī lugā rahlā, phin khajimān hai, bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is, and lost was,
 khamlā hai'
found is'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR)

SPECIMEN VI

STATE RAMPUR

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadīn bhaē ki kōdhi nāl-kū mährē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
rōhlē būlaṭ bhaī Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
rahā thā Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thī Bik
staying was My sister house-in sleeping staying was One
ludmī mährē rāhat-kī dhugē chhlagtā huā nukhā Khōtithōgā,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen I-rose,
ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būki hū' Mēh
him-from it-was asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukidār am' By-me
kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai' Phin ōh chhlap-gayā
it-was-said that, 'he another man is' Then he going-went
Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā Phin nachīs khatīs bōl
While clothes put-on become was Then twenty-five thirty burglars
āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bultu haī' Khandēri nāl rēhli
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are' Dark night was
Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuthiā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē dhugē rahlē
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were
Kōt chul nandūkō-kē bhaē Mēh gōghāi parā Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became I going fled One knife
thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuthiā lugārī Mēh nisht hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck I quiet becoming went that
lōth dārēgē Phin bik kudmī tikhnī hyē mēhrē dhugē reharā
killing may-throw Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā rund nōinē lagē Nidhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to break began Village-of people many
bikhattē hupī gaē Tō mēhrē dhugē-sē bōl chilpē gaē
together becoming went Then of-me near-from burglars going went
Phin mēh khinṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nidhwē-nē billātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, righ chilpō' Nēhblūanē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come' All-sides-from

bōl	nandūkē	lōhtē	thē	Khādrā-kē	mārē	uthē	kōi	na
dacoits	guns	firing	were	Fear-of	on-account	there	anybody	not
jāsurtā	thā	Dhōr	ranthā	tāi	bulattē	rahē	Phun	chulpē
going	was	Two	hours	for	robbing	were	Then	moved
Bus-kē	nīcohē	mēh	rōhlē	gōghā,	nukhā	ke	khatālā	nutā
That-of	after	I	into-house	went,	it-was-seen	that	lock	broken
huā	hai,	khamāti	rōdhilā-rī,	dāmāyā-kī	khatum		khutāi	
become	is,	earth	dug-was,	women-of	property	having-taken-out		
li,	bōr	gahnā	sab	lipī	gaē		Bikis	
was-taken,	and	ornaments	all	having-taken	had-gone		Twenty-one	
hajārē-kā	khatum	bultī-kē		lipī	gaē		Kāgad	
thousand-of	property	having-robbed		having-taken	had-done		Paper	
dippī	diyā	hai	Rīchhrā	bōr	nēthrē		jalāē-kē	
having-given	given	is	Quilts	and	stalks-of-juar-tree		having-lighted	
bōlō-nē	khujitā	kī	thī	Mēhrā	jadhī-sē	kāi	kharañj	nahī
dacoits-by	light	made	was	Of-me	defendant-with	any	ill-feeling	not
hai,	na	un-kē	bhaotē-sē	Mēh-nē	kīsī	bōl-kū	nahī	nehchānā
is,	not	him-of	brother-with	Me-by	any	dacoit	not	was-recognized
Mēh	in	bōlō-kū	ke	kachēriyā-nē	rahē	hai	nahī	nahchāntā
I	these	dacoits	who	count-in	standing	are	not	know
Bōr	jō	khatum	khiklē	hōkē	āyā	hai,	mēhugā	nahī
And	which	property	recovered	having-become	come	is,	mine	not
hai	Bēk	rahri	tak	mēhrē	thāmnē	mēhrā	rōhlā	bulattē
is	One	hour	for	of-me	before	my	house	robbing
							remained	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property I have given a list of it The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother I did not recognize any one of the dacoits I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court The property which has been recovered is not mine They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour

The Nats in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent We may note forms such as *lhabdā* and *lhabdē*, O big one, Sn , *lhabhedā-lē*, of the wolf (but *lhabhēdē-nē*, by the wolf), *āsīā*, they came, and so on Note also future forms such as *jāgīā*, I will go, *kōgungā*, I will say, compare *Šāšī* Another future formation is represented by *hōēlā*, it will be For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable, the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb

[No 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN VII

DISTRICT BIJNOR

Kisī	kōdmī-kē	dō	nōbdē	thē	Chhōtē	nōbdē-nē	bābā-sū	
Some	man-of	two	sons	there	Small	son-by	father-to	
kahī	kī,	'hamārā	bātī	bātī	dē'	Us-nē	apnē	
it-was-said	that,	'our	share	having-divided	give'	him-by	own	
jūdē-jī	lātā	divā	Ghanē	duñā	nahī	huč,	chhōtā	nōbdā
living-of	share	was-given	Many	days	not	there,	small	son
sab	khūbnā	lē	dūsre	dēsā	nasī	gayā,	aur	wahā-sē
all	goods	having-taken	another	country	going	went,	and	there
sahā	khūbnā	khurmastī	lagādne-mē	barābād	kar	diyā	Aur	
all	goods	riotousness,	applying-in	wasted	making	was-given	And	
sab	nāngā	kar	chukā,	sō	ūthē	mulkā-mē	ghānā	akrā
all	spent	making	ceased,	then	there	country-in	mighty	famine
hō	gayā	Jab	lāchār	khōkhā	hōnē	lagā,	tab	us
having-become	went	When	helpless	poor	to-be	began,	then	that
dēsā-kē	kisī	kōdmī-sō	jā	bhētā	Tab	us-nē	usō	tundā
country-of	some	man-with	going	was-joined	Then	him-by	him	scene
chugānē	bhējī	divā	Tab	hōshā-mē	ākē	kōghā,		
to-graze	having-sent	it-was-given	Then	senses in	having-come	it-was-said,		
'mērē	bāpā-kē	utnē	mihantī-kō	bahutā	ōtī	haī,	maī	bhūkō
'my	father-of	so-many	servants-to	much	bread	are,	I	with-hunger
mar	chalpā	Maī	ūthī-kē	bāpā-kē	pās	jāgrā	aur	us-sō
dying	went	I	having-isen	father-of	near	will-go	and	him-to
kōgungā	kī,	"bāpā,	hamī-nē	āsmānē-kā	tērē	hazūr	taksīrā	
will-say	that,	"father,	me-by	heaven-of	of-thee	presence	fault	
karā	hai "							
done	is "							

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BILNOR

Ek khunaddi badi napāñ thi Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā
One rarer very clear was That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēdhī ō khabhēdhī-kā khabachchā dōñō khapānī pīnē āsrā
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came
 Garmī khabhūtī tui rōgi Khadōñō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was Both-to thirst having become attached
 rōgi thi Khabhēdhī ūthē khadā khapānī tōgi rahā thā,
being was Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 ūthē-s thōdī dūrī-par khabāō-kī tarfā khabhēdhā-kā khabachchā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep of young-one
 khapānī tōgi lagī khabhēdhā-kē khumī khuluhū lagā huā
water drinking began Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, ūh-kē khēdārtē-hi khumī-mē khachchī tabuk āyā, us-kē
was, him-of on seeing-even mouth-in water filled came, him-of
 dūtñē-kē hīc khijhagrā khūbī kiyā ' Ō bē adbā,
eating of for-the-sale quarrel much was made ' O disrespectful-one,
 tujhī chī kulnā chāhīc kī pāñ-sē hūlāi hūlāi khapānī-kō gādā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kulta hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pānī na tōg-sāi, khapyās-kē
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārē marī chalpāi ' Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go ' Poor young-one-by answer
 dīyā, ' khabdī, kyā hukmī khadrtē ho ' Khapānī-kā khabāō
was-given, ' Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mōrī tarfā hai Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is My direction-from
 tūri labī-kō nahī jāc saktā ' Tab khabhēdhī-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can ' Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' nuhī-sahī, tū badō khumgrā hai, khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
' never-mind, thou great scoundrel art, six months become thee-by
 mujh-ko barā gārī • dīpī thī ' Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ' khabdā,
me-to great abuses given were ' Young-one-by it-was said, ' Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maĩ tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
 hōpā nahī Gārīā kīs-nē dēpī hōgī-? Khabhēdē-nē kaugā,
become not Abuses whom-by given may-be ? Wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' itbhā tum-nē mah-kō gārīā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
 ' *here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by*
 dēpī hōgī Ab māsāpā yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
 dādā bhugti lō ' Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take ' This having-said young-one-of seizing
 livā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī livā
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said 'never mind, you are a scoundrel, six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsi and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsis differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ)

SPECIMEN IX

DISTRICT BAHRAICH

Ek	admī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā	
One	man-of	two	sons	iccie	Them-in-from	by small	son	
hū-nē	kahiū,	'uhō	hiū,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā	chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	' O	father,	property	which	my	share	is
ham-no	dai-dcō	Tabra	ū	dhan	ū-thaī	bāt	dīnhō	
me to	give	Then	he	property	him-to	having-divided	was-given	
Ujī	thōr	doūs	hītē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jamā-jathrī	lē-kō	
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken	
	pardēsan	chalō	garō,	' ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl	sail-sūphī-mē
to-a-foreign country	it moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in	
	uri-dinō							
was-trusted								

The argot of the Naṭs of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindōstīnī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī a form of speech quite different from Hindi.—

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN X.

°

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kudmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē	Rōtkā	rawāil	apnē			
One	man-of	two	sons	were	Small	son	own			
dugwā-sē	kutāis	jē,	‘sab	tihā	masil	mērā	jhakhrī			
father to	said	that,	‘all	wealth	money	my	share			
batkhilālapā’	Dugwā	sab	tihā	masil	dhūiō	rawāil-kē	jhāt			
divide’	Father	all	wealth	money	two	sons-of	shares			
dihis	Thōrācha	jhād	rōtkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gang		
gave	Short	after	small	son	own	all	money	piece		
lē-kē	jhārī	dūr	ralī	gapāil	Wahā	sab	masil	gang	rahūli-mē	
having-taken	very	far	going	went	There	all	money	piece	harlots-in	
dhārāb-kar	dihis	Jab	us-kā	labthō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab		
spent-making	gave	When	him-of	all	spent	becoming	went,	then		
us	dēs-mē	jhārī	jhakāl	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	dhārīb	hō	
that	country-in	great	famine	fell,	and	he	food-in	poor	becoming	
gāil	Tab	wah	jhēkē	kājā	rangh	lahēkē	gail	Kājā		
went	Then	he	one	gentleman	with	to-remain	went	Gentleman		
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	charānē-kō	bhējis	Naslāō	rūkar-kē	būtnī		
him	own	field-in	swine	feeding-for	sent	Husks	pigs-of	food		
bhī	milpāt,	tō	ū	apan	chutkālī	chīdhā	bhār-kē			
even	would-have-got,	then	he	own	belly	glad	having-become			
hurit	Jab	wah	apnē	kīhā	dharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chhōkē		
would-have-filled	When	he	own	sense	held,	own	mind-in	to-say		
lagī	jē,	‘hamarē	dugwā-kē	kītnē	khēotahā-kē	etnā	dōmkā	hai		
began	that,	‘my	father-of	how-many	servants of	so-much	bread	is		
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	hāī	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	hāī,	ō	ham
that	they	sell	eating	are	and	others-of	feeding	are,	and	I
bhūkan	dhūmī	jālā	Ham	apnē	dugwā	rangh	jāisī	ō	kutāisī	
by hunger	eating	go	I	own	father	near	will-go	and	will say	
jē,	“ō	dugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāc	kīyā,	ō	ham	tērā
that,	“O	father,	by-me	of-thee	many	faults	were-done,	and	I	thy
rahūli	chhōkē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil,	apnē	nāhar-mē	khēotā	rakhpī”	”	
‘on	to be-called	fit	not	became,	own	presence-in	servant	keep”	”	

DŌM

The Dōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Dōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners, others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Dōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahyā Dōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911 —

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,901
Bihar and Orissa	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Punjab	79,916
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,099
Delaware	4,374
TOTAL	925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphor and Bisor —

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,095
Banoda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
TOTAL	128,516

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336

The common name of the caste is Dōm or Dōmrā, a word of uncertain origin. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Dama* is the son of a *lēta* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Dama* is perhaps the same word as *Dōma*. The *domas* or *dōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *dōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Brhat-saṃhitā* (lxvii 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sūmadatta and the *Rājatarangīṇī* of Kalhana. There cannot be any doubt that these *dōmbas* are identical with the Dōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic, compare Sanskrit *dam*, to sound, *damaru*, drum. It is probably not Arvan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dom* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

to denote themselves.¹ This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland² and Sir George Grierson,³ and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dôm* and their language *Dômānī*.⁴

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So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dôms do not possess a dialect of their own but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sîsis. A similar remark applies to the Dôm dialect mentioned by Dr Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dômrâ was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa—

Saran	9,500
Champaran	1,000
Total	10,500

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahivā Dôms, who derive their name Magahivā from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dômrâ in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dôms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Dômrâ argot. The Dôms of Champaran numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dômrâ is an argot based on the current Bhôjpurî of the districts, with a tissue of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *lā*, *kī*, *kē*;

¹ See A. F. Pott *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien* Vol. 1. Halle 1844, p. 42, Chr. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* Vol. 1. Second edition p. 460 note 1. Franz Miklwich *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas* viii, p. 57 = *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Classe* Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy* Vol. vii, 1875 p. 687.

³ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. ix 1880 p. 15.

⁴ See R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gipsy Lore Society Monographs No. 3. Edinburgh 1914.

before, *chashhāē*=*pās*, towards, *baplhailā*=*bāp*, father, *chētl hailā*, sense, *nētl hailā*=*khēt*, field, *garahlā*=*galā*, neck, *jutahlā* and *nōtahlā*=*jutā*, shoe, *sangahlā*, with, *sunahlā*, heard, *samanahlē*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *lhasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes, *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains, *dēghluarsē*=*divā*, gave, *ligunghaiuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone, thus, *lih-u-ātē*, I will say, *lar-u-lī*, I did, *lch-u-lē* and *lah-u-alal*, said, *lir-u-icē*, to make, *lih-u-ēs*, *lih-u-as*, *lih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*, thus, *di-su*, gave, *li-su*, took, *di-su-ātā*, gives, *lha-su-ātē*, coming, *lha-su-aitā*, comes (with *lh* added in front), *li-suc-atē*, have done, *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-ācl*, and *lha-su-ān*, came, *chal-so-ācl*, went, *di-suc-ē*, had given, *di-suc-ēs*, gavest, *di-suc-as*, gave, *di-su-alan*, gave, *di-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*, thus, *char-uar-ē*, to grive, *lah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēlh-uar-lē*, having seen, *chal-uar* (*disu*), dividing (give), *rah-uar-ā*, remained, *ho-ic-ē*, it may be, *mar-uar-lhī*, I am dying, *lu-uar-tē*, I did, *di-suar-tahā*, gave, *chah-uar-tarlā*, he was wishing, *rah-uar-ticā*, *rah-uar-toācl*, stayed, *rah-uar-al*, was, *bach-uar-al*, was saved, *lag-uar-alē*, began, *lar-uar-lī*, I transgressed, *rah-uar-alhā*, was, *chuchh-uar-alah*, asked, *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth, compare Kanjari *icār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bai-u-ala*, is, *hō-icar-al*, am, art, is, *lhō-icar-lī*, we are, *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *līā* in pronouns, thus, *lhōlrē*, by thee, *lhō-lrē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *lhu* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *tap*, to go, thus, *hō-ticā*, became, *rah-uar-tawā*, stayed, *par-taicān*, fell, *gangai-toācl*, fled, the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiṃyā Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmṛās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No 48]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

MAGAHYĀ DŌM

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT SARAN.

Khāk kājw-i-kē du chēṭi baraurāl Khōkrē-mē sē chōchikā-nō
One man-of two sons were Them among from younger-by
 bapkhaili sē kuhuesi, 'hē bapkhaili, darbkhaili jē hamrē chakrā
father to said, 'O father, goods which my share
 howrē, sē hamē disu ' Tab u khokrē khīpan darbkhaili
will be, that to-me give ' Then he to-him own goods
 chatur disu Bahut din nā chitaur kē chōchikā chētā sab
decide on gave Many days not passed that younger son all
 chuphaili khokhī kar kī chari chahrē chālāt wī, khaur khulā
things together having made for country went, and there
 chadimāsi din chitārwī, khīpan darbkhaili khurā disuwas Jib
serve to it etc days spent, own goods wasted gave When
 wah sab kuchh Hurī disuwc, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had given, then that country-in big famine
 parwaran khaur wah dhangāl hoṭwā, khaur khulī tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē Bhadma-mē khok ādmī rahuarṭawī, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men in one man to live-went, who him
 khappi mtkhaili bhubhur charuarī bhujar-disuwc Khaur khokrē
area fields some to graze sent And those
 mōthū s jūhū bhubhur tigan-gharure khapnā chēt bharuarē
lands with which some eating were own belly to fill
 chahuarṭarhī, khaur karunō nī us-ko kuchh disuarṭahā Tab
settling-areas, and anybody not him to anything giving was Then
 Jhokrē chēt haili hoṭwī, khaur khunē kahuarṭe, 'khamre bapkhaili-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, 'my father-of
 chahut mājurī tigan-ā chahut pōpī hōkhuarṭe khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 hlul hō hī maruarthī Māi khut-kē khapnō bapkhaili pās chālāt wā
with hunger dying am I having arisen own father near go
 khaur Jhokrē kuharṭe, "hē bapkhaili, khām-nē chaitunth khulā khaur
and to him will-say, "O father, me by Heaven against and
 khokrē samun-khaili chaphaili kiruarṭe, māi chhūuarke tōhār chētā
there before sin did, I again thy son

kīhuē lāek nai-khurē Khamrē-kē I hapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am Me own servants-in-from one
 charābar kīru.” Tab wah khutkē khapnē bapkhailā chalatwā
like male” Then he having-arisen own father went
 Chahū pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chayā kīruwastē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruar-kē us-kē garkhaiā thiru-lisuwēs chumt haiā Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck lept-tool I seed Son-by him-to
 kabā, ‘hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chait unth khutkē I haur khapnē
it-was-said, ‘O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhaihē chap-khailā kīruwatē, khaur ‘chhurnarkē tōhār chētā bahuarē
before in did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.’ Chāli bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē I hūwēs, ‘sab-sē
worthy not-am’ But father-by own servants-to, said, ‘all-than
 khachhā tērar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath anguthi I haur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tīl uarkē I haur nusī biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-be-come,
 kīhuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā,
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went,
 chulatwā, phir chiluartwā’ Tab wē khānand kīruwar liguwār
lost-went, again met-went’ Then they merriment to-male began

Khōkar charkā chētā nētkhailā-mē biruaral Khaur chalā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was And going-coming
 markhaihē khasuān, tab jakhaiā I haur nachard khawāj sunarat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard And
 I hu khapnē chōkarkhaiā-mē-sē khēk-kō chaskhaiē chōlāwat chuchhuartē kī,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 ‘kā hawāral’ Khū khōkrē-sē kīhuas, ‘I hapnē bhaikhaiā asuānē,
‘what becoming-is?’ He him-to said, ‘yourself-of brother came,
 I haur tōhār bapkhailā niman tūgnār vrēsā khēkhōjkhailā-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā’ Chāli khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā tāwō
well got’ But he angry became and inside not came
 Khōkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, ‘dēkhuarē, māi bahut
He father-to answer gave that, ‘see, I many
 charis-sē khōkrē sēvkhaiā kīruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhaiā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā tamarhī Khaur khokrē hamrē kahukhaññ khēk nakrī na
not transgressed And thou to me ever one goal not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit sangkhaññ khānand kiruat biruwaral Chāki
get 'tla' own friends with merriment making might-be But
 Hāpan ī cheti jesa khapnē sab-khahc darbhkhaññ tigun-tawān jaisē
was this son who your own all-cherishes goods eating-went when
 Hānān tvō hī khap nē khokrē khachhā tikunār kiruāsān '
eat this deed yourself by for him good dinner have-made'
 Bapkhail khokrē sē kahuwēs, 'hē cheti, tu sab din hamrē sangkhaññ,
Father I have said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 Haur kichlu khaur hui, sē sab tōr hawwaral Chāki khānand
eat a thing come is, that all time is But joy
 Hāwē khaur nosi hotwā khachhī thā kāk-kī yahi tōr bhāikhāññ
'o-rah at ever to-be good was because this thy brother
 Chāki bhāpār chaur, phir jiwartwā, chulātāwī, phir miluwartwā '
eat his was, again alive went, lost-went, again met-went'

[No 49]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRĀ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN

Khēk ādmī-kē dulēm-gō chētā rahuarē Chhōtkā chētā kahlak
One man-of two sons were Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōhan chubī hamār chakhrā disu-disu'
own father-to, 'O father, pieces piece our share give'
 Tab chatuar disu Chahu din nā bituaral kī khapnā chakhrā chubī
Then dividing gave Many days not passed that own share piece
 lisu-kē dūr destu chaltoāel ō khapnā randatu sē sab khurā disu
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toāel, u naklīf-mē hō-toiēl
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hā rahuar-toāel, bhumbhuu charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-lending
 hutoāel-naiāel Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu randwā tikunē
was-deputed Hushs which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē, khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē Khōkrā khakīl bhauaral,
wished, him-to anybody not gave anything To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kīhī chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōti
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī Khapnā baptu-kē niar toāeb
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am Own father-of near will-go
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli, ham tōhār chētā kahawē lāek na barūli,
before sin did, I thy son to-be called fit not became,
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januarī "' Khutuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar
me servant like consider "' Arisen-having own father of near
 toāilin Chētā-kē thiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā hualak Chētā-nē kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli, chētā kīhuē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did, son to-say

lak na birarah' Baptu apna nōkarhulī-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhūñ tēpar
fit no' an' Father own servants to said that, 'good clothes
 nikalwī-ke chētī-ke chenhiō, ō kohīth-mē khōnguthī au gōrtu-mē nōtahulā
take of of son to put-on, and hand on ring and feet-on shoes
 chahīō o ham tikum khushahulā karuārī, hamār chētā lugail
put-on, and we shall eat merry shall make, my son dead
 rahūrahī, jumar toel nula toel rahūrahī ab miluar-toāel' U-lōg
became became, lost gone was, now found-became' They
 khushahulā ho toel
eat to eat

kīō kar nēka chet khetu-mē rahuaral Khētū-mē sē apnā daulō
His big son field in was I field in-from own house
 chētāel nachtu howaral chig chiguaral sunahulā Aur nōkarhulā sē
eat eat on on on music beating heard And servant-from
 chētāel chē huaralāk 'kī howarālē -' Khun kā-sē kehulō kī,
eat eat what is-going on?' Him-to said that,
 'kī pu to huaralā suaral baruaral khapnē kē baptu chadhūñ tikunē-kō
eat of brother arrived has become, self of father big eating-for
 baruaral khun kī ke chahuman pruarālē harē' Tab u nūstī
eat eat eat rate and sound found-has' Then he angry

ho toel o daulnē ra toel Baptu daul sē khikalsuāel
eat eat and to seen no' went Father house from going-out-came
 'kī huaral chētāel huaralē Tab u baptu-kē jrahbhu disuaral, 'ham
eat to to eat eat to Then he father to answer gave, 'I
 'kī huaral kētā dīntu sē sūrahulā kirūhī Kābhī khapnē-kē chahohan
eat eat to eat days from service did Exec self of word
 'kī huaral Mula huaral-ke khēgo chēthru na disu kē khapnā
eat eat gave I eat me to one had not gave that own
 dīntu sē sangahulā musī kartī Bīkī dhahbin-kē sangahulā
friends of in company merry might-make But harlots of in-company

raur o chētā ab dhantu khurā disu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 nūstī chadhūñ matikā chānī-kē tihunē-kē disuaral Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating for you-gave' The-father
 hīō karī hīulak kī, 'chētā, hamar sāth tu khamcē barualā, sō
I am to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
 barualā hamar, sē tohrē biruaralē Bīkī khushahulā kirūkē chahuaral,
is mine, that thine is But merry to make it-was-wanted,
 hīuaral-ke tor bhahulā rōguar toel, phēr jumar toāel, nula toāel rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went, lost gone was,
 phēr milual toāel'
again found went'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DŌMRĀ

SPECIMEN III

DISTRICT OHAMPARAN

Khak	rajabilā	rahuarē	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	dhēm	gumāwē
<i>One</i>	<i>ājā</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>to-steal</i>
gahuaiā	Gimātē	gimātē	narichh	hō	toāel	Pañchēmu	
<i>went</i>	<i>Stealing</i>	<i>stealing</i>	<i>morning</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>Five</i>	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatu	chicharatu	kirialak,	'ab	na	jantu	bachuai
<i>selves-among</i>	<i>counsel</i>	<i>deliberation</i>	<i>made,</i>	<i>'now</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>living-being</i>	<i>will-be-saved</i>
Natiā	lisu,	khōh	par	dhantu	thirū,	tēpai	churdā
<i>Bed</i>	<i>bring,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>place,</i>	<i>cloth</i>	<i>corpse</i>
Charēmu-gōrā	chārū	chauā	khutā-kē	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu	Khck
<i>Four-of-us</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>legs</i>	<i>having-lifted</i>	<i>shoulders-on</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>One</i>
ādmī	nuthā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudāi
<i>man</i>	<i>cowdung-in</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>hand-in</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>take,</i>	<i>shoulder-on</i>	<i>hoc</i>
lisu'	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	ganai	toāel	
<i>take'</i>	<i>Thus</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>escaping</i>	<i>went</i>	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and cowdung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr H Strenfield writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal —

'They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāō, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever, small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or scer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Mundā village, speaking Mundārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā'

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows —

Barchi	976
Palamanu	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
	<hr/>
TOTAL	2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans

Mr Strenfield has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these, *bū-man*, those, the genitive suffixes *lar* and *lēr* in forms such as *bū-lar*, his, *bū-man-lēr*, their, verbal forms such as *tuai-raul* *his*, going wast, wentest, *ṣualak*, he has gone, *ṣuabai*, we shall go, *tuabā*, you will go, *ṣuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *lurimu*, herd, *lhaul*, house, *lhulsā*, husband, *chēicās*, hair, *tuai*, going, *ṣōlmā*, neck, *dhaparchū*, forehead, *dhajmā*, liver, *tutkā*, temples, *duṛgā*, old man, *nētrai*, blood, *nōhl ā*, man, *nōhl in*, woman, wife, *nōph*, breast, *pupumī*, eyelid, *baitmī*, food, *ladarmī*, stomach, *luluha*, wrist, *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēōmā* = *chamrā*, skin, *kandpaṣhnī* = *kanpaṣī*, temples, *ṣaimī* = *ṣālū*, palate, *baichhū* = *bāzū*, upper arm, *mīsi* = *mīchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911

A *l* is prefixed in words such as *lōig=āg*, fire, *Kīrānchī*, *Rānchī*, *lōhāt=hāth*, forearm, *lōhōr=hāi*, bone

Kh is added in the front of some words, thus, *khangu*, finger, *khōīkh=aīkh*, eye, *khmrē=hamrē*, we, *khmsār=mās*, flesh, *khvāī=ānd*, widow

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials, thus, *chibhāl*, brother, *chhētā=bētā*, son

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer

N is used in a similar way in *naul=bhail*, bullock

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one', thus, *bī*, this, *bū*, that, *bau*, yonder, *bēk*, one

R is substituted for a *p* in *īōnchlū=pāch*, five, *īth=pīth*, back, *īōlkai=pēt*, belly, and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī=nābh*, navel

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are —

kai or *khai*, in *īndikai*, veranda, *īōlkai=pēt*, belly, *dhikhai=dwāi*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *īaulkhō*, I was. A suffix *lhulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā=dāt*, tooth

chū is a very common addition, thus, *gālchū=gāl*, cheek, *jāngchū=jāng*, thigh, *jībchū=jīb*, tongue, *bāpchū=bāp*, father, and so forth

chh is added in *mōichhā*, my, *tōichhā*, thy, cf. *mōēchā*, I, *tōēchā*, thou

durā has been suffixed in *landurā*, ear

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khapai mā=khaprā*, tales, *thēhunmā=thēvnī*, knee, *bhaumā=bhaū*, brow, *pakhumā=pakhauā*, shoulder, *baiārmī=īrh*, backbone, *ēimī=ērī*, heel, *lāmbhmī=nābh*, navel, etc

i has been added in *nākuīā=nāl*, nose, *khmsāi=mās*, flesh, cf. also *uar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself, *goruarek*, to light a fire, *īpuarek*, to whitewash

l is suffixed in *khachul=karchhā*, ladle (also Hindi), *dōl*, two, and so forth

Further details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows —

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōt=ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khātlū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tinlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chaurlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gāimō</i>
Five	<i>īānchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onātschū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēk lōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl lōrmī</i>

Pronouns

I	<i>mōēchā</i>	Your	<i>tohōi mēlē</i>
My	<i>mōichhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>kharmā</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khāmēlē</i> , <i>khama-</i> <i>mēlē</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankē</i>
Thy	<i>tōichhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōi mē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhlā</i>	Father	<i>bāpohū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhlān</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>duṛgā</i>	Son	<i>chhētā</i>
Old woman	<i>duṛgā</i>	Daughter	<i>chhētī</i>
Boy	<i>chōṛmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāt</i>
Girl	<i>chōṛmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>ḥu'sa</i>	Widower	<i>khāṣṣā</i>
Wife	<i>nōhlān</i>	Widow	<i>khāṣṣī</i>

Parts of the body

Head	<i>teran</i>	Thumb	<i>tīpā khangu</i>
Hair	<i>cheacīs</i>	Mid finger	<i>maj khangu</i>
Forehead	<i>dhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khangu</i>
Temples	<i>landpathnī, tutkē</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmi</i>
Eye	<i>k'ōṛī</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajma</i>	Back	<i>rīth</i>
Eyebrow	<i>b'aurā</i>	Side	<i>dāṣṣī khāṛ</i>
Ear	<i>pipin</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī, iōḥkai</i>
Eardrums	<i>pipin chīacīs</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Chin	<i>galchū</i>	Skin	<i>chīōṛmā</i>
Ear	<i>lat lapa</i>	Tendon	<i>su chū</i>
Nose	<i>ī skurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsar</i>
Mouth	<i>ḥu'star</i>	Liver	<i>dhajymā</i>
Lip	<i>ī</i>	Lungs	<i>phosmā</i>
Tongue	<i>don'k'ula</i>	Heart	<i>ī amatchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibē'ī</i>	Bile	<i>pitichū</i>
Palate	<i>lari'ū</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōḥmanā</i>
Jawbone	<i>chōḥṛmā</i>	Blood	<i>netīai</i>
Beard	<i>darī</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Monstrous	<i>ī īa</i>	Ribs	<i>ī aṣṣermā</i>
Neck	<i>foṭa</i>	Backbone	<i>baī āṣṣmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakḥurra</i>	Thigh	<i>janqchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>laichū</i>	Knee	<i>ṭhēhunmā</i>
Lower arm	<i>lō'āt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghutnī</i>
Wrist	<i>līlchā</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhīt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>lai panā</i>
Finger	<i>ḥanqur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>ḥaul</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>ḥaparma</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgan</i>
Wall	<i>blatchū</i>	Ladle	<i>khāichul</i>
Door	<i>durḥai</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
Space in front of house	<i>ḥōngēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>ī ākchēhū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindīai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>nyhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>ṭuafhis</i>
to light a fire	<i>jōruarek</i>	He goes	<i>ṭuatakutis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhack</i>	We go	<i>ṭuatī</i>
to warm oneself	<i>ṭapuarēk</i>	You go	<i>ṭuatā</i>
to whitewash	<i>ḥpuarek</i>	They go	<i>ṭuafhaī</i>
I go	<i>ṭuathō</i>		

QASĀĪ

Qasāī or Qasāb is the name of the butcher caste The word is derived from Arabic *qasab*, to cut The number of Qasāīs returned at the Census of 1901¹ was 369,533, distributed as follows —

Name	Number
Ajmer	66
Andamans	5
Assam	23
Baluchistan	255
Bengal	11,093
Berar	218
Bombay	24,086
Central Provinces	206
Panjab	125,644
United Provinces	184,150
Baroda	851
Central India	918
Hyderabad	2
Kashmir	824
Rajputana	20,292
TOTAL	369,533

The Qasāīs are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkar-sikhhū*, cow killers, and the latter *mehn-sikhhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikhhū* The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect

The Qasāīs seem to have a trade language of their own During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qasāyī-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District Dr T Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qasāīs of the Panjab who do not kill cows

AUTHORITIES—

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BAILEY, REV T GRAHAME, D D — *The Secret Words of the Qasāīs (Kasāī)* In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas," pp 273ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol xvii London, 1920 (A Reprint of the preceding)

Specimens of Qasāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District The Qasāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qasāī described by Dr Bailey The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qasāīs It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qasāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī In Karnal we also find Pañjābī forms such as *mazdū, ā-mē*, amongst the servants In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qasāīs were recorded under that name in 1911

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thāṭaṭ*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thāṭai*, art, is, and *ghādungā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral *t* by Dr Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tīp* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēiwarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēiwarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *ṇ*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think". It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ṣ*, compare *śūd*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *shūdṇā*, *shūrṇā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr Bailey. The same is the case in *this*, six, where Dr Bailey has *thiṣ*, compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*, *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba', *lhammas*, Belgaum *lhammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamṣ*, *this*, Bailey *thiṣ*, six, Arabic *sids*, *āṣr*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr Bailey's List. Such are *adāl*, put, *akēl*, one (Hindōstānī *akēlā*, alone), *but*, father, or, according to Dr Bailey, a Jāt, *batlā*, rupee, *bhakkar*, cow, *bigarnā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf Hindōstānī *bigarnā*?), *chilknī*, ring (cf Hindōstānī *chilaknā*, to glitter), *chushmī*, application, *chushkā*, interest, *chabīne*, tooth, *chhanakā*, boy, *dusarnā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district), *gaunā*, to get, *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *gudāle*, in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'), *ghāṇnā*, *ghādnā*, to beat, to loose, *gaumb*, thief (Bailey), *halūk*, swine (Karnal), *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum), *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-kē-sab*), all together, *hidap*, take, *lachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadīā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?), *kanēli*, bread (Bailey *khadēli*, *khanēli*), *kajūli*, afternoon, *kahīlā* (Karnal), *laulā* (Belgaum), rupee, *lasnā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'), *kid*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*), *lhastā*, property, *lhlās* (Karnal), *khūlī* (Belgaum), belly, *khēdā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *lhedā*), *khū*, go, *khūm*, word, noise, *khunsā*, starving, *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred, *mēknī*, goat, *minjāl*, tongue, *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless', it is used in different senses in the first specimen), *nakātī*, sin, *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house, *nand*, water (Bailey), *nhāt*, run, *nīngā*, water (Belgaum), *pādā*, bull, *phēlani*, nose, *sihām*, share, *śebī*, good, *subal*, younger brother (Belgaum), *subūkdā*, man (Belgaum), *suṇālā*, good (Belgaum), *śūd*, eat, *thāṭnā*, to become, to gather, *thārtā*, being, *tlūr*, eat, *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum), *tīp*, see, *tuluk*, sleep, *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāī

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhū*, a Hindū (Bailey), *jh* in *jhōiā=thōrā*, *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. Sāsī *nād*, *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bīs*, and *l* in *līprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kapīā*, *land* and *nand*, house

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said, *t* in *hatōtā*, hand, *kannōtyā*, ear, *n* in *akōnyā*, eye, *l* in *bandāl*, bind, *icai* in *āicai*, come, *dicar*, give, etc., *icād* in *baticād*, sit, *bōlicād*, call, *sunicād*, hear, and so forth

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāī version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāīs of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT KARNAL

Akāl but-kō jaur kadrō thē Nakāt kadrō-nē but-sū bulkā
 One father of two sons there Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai but, khaṣṭh-kā sihām jō mujhō dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē'
 that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give'
 Phir khaṣṭh unhē dēwar-divā Jhōrā din pichhē nakāt kadrā
 Then property to-them giving-was-given Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khaṣṭh lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā Wahā
 all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went There
 thāik-kar apnē khaṣṭh kākāvat-mē urā diyō Jab sārā uksā
 having-gone own property buying-in wasting was-given When all spent
 chukī us mulk-mē khunsē bighai nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
 finished that country-in hungering to die began, and that son low
 hōnē laga Phir us mulk-kē akāl jēdlē-kē thāik gayā Jēdlē-nē
 to be began Then that country-of one rich-of near went Rich-one-by
 kadrō-kō hakuk charim-kō uksāyā Aur wō hakuk-kē bachē huē
 son some feeding-for was-sent-away And he some-of left been
 gaunō se apna khilās jēdlī kainā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
 refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to him
 dēwarī nī thī Phir jēdl hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērē but-kē
 giving not was Again sensible having become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kauchī hai, aur māī khunsā bighrū. Māī uks-kar
 many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die I having-risen
 apnē but-kō pās thāikūgī aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai but, māī-nē
 own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakāti kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
 heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 kī tērā kadrā khumyāyā jūī Mujhō apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē ahēl jaisā
 that thy son called shall-go Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā " " Tab uks-kar apnē but-kē pās uks-gayā Aur wōh
 make " " Then having-gone-away own father-of near went And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tip hai us kē but-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
 far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagūyā aur bahut ehumā Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā kī, 'ai
neck was-clasped and much kissed Son by to-him it-was-said that, 'O
 buṭ, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nāhī
father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not
 kī tērā kadiā khumyāvā jāū' But-nē apnō naukrō-kō khumyāyā
that thy son called shall-go' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said
 kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāō au usē dēwar-dō, aur kadrē-kē
that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give, and son-of
 gaunē-mē chuknī dīwar-dō au gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō Aur ham
hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give And we
 thūrē au jēdlē ho-jāē, kyū-kī yahi mērā kadrā bighrī thū,
may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was,
 ab jiyā hai, nakāt hō-gayā thū, ab āwarā hai' Tab wōh
now alive is, lost become-gone was, now come is' Then they
 jēd hōnē lagē
meiry to-be began

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā Jab land-kē pās āwarā,
And his big son field-in was When house-of near came,
 gānē au nāchnē-kī khūm sunī Tab akāl naukar-kō khumyāyā
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard Then one servant-to it-was-said
 kī, 'yahi kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā kī, 'tērā bhāī
that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 uks-āyā hai, au tērē but-nē kanēhī thūwāī hai, is-lyē usē
back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him
 jēdlā tipā' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā kī nand-mē
well said' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in
 āwarē Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kāi kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā
may-go Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made
 Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnī baras sē māī tūī khidmat
Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so many years-from I thy service
 kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā, par taī-nō kabhī
doing am, and ever thy word not was-exercised, but thee-by ever
 akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diyā kī apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā
one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry
 hū, au jab tērā yahi kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tūā khastā nakāt-mē
might-be, and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in
 jhōrā kiyā, taī-nē us-kē hīyā bārī kanēlī kī'
wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was made'
 Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur
Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of me near art, and

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARVAL

Binjhaul mād sudhtā thā Jataul-kē birīdar aur ham
Binjhaul village being sold was Jataul-of brothers and we
 hap-kō-hap akēl jagah thāikē Binjhaul-mē udhar-sō wuh āwarī,
all one place became Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-iō Āps-mē khūm karī kī
and this-side-from we again-went Selves-among word was-made that
 mād lēwarā chāhivē Jataul-wālī-nē khumā karā kī, 'mīh
village to take is wanted Jataul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 hīwē-kē kahilc pitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī hakāvat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
hīwē-of rupees as-many-as are four years of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamāī taraf-kē bhī batlē tum kas-dō Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give Six months interest paid
 karēgē' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thāik-kar khūm karī
shall-make' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made
 Ham nand-sē khāmras lāgwārē batlē lēkar rabīc-wē dīn
We' home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē āē Manījar sāhib-kē yabā
ear nest-money of money to-pay came Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāl-kē batlē kas dīc Hakāvat karī kī, 'āsar
ear nest-money-of money paid was given Promise was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh dīn-mē āwar-kar bēwār lēwar hīō Sārēhō
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take With-one-half
 mīh hīzār batlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees for you-to village giving-shall-give' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārī jēdlā vilāvat-mē thāikā hai Mād-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is Tillage-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh dīn mē khabar lēwar-hīō' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take' Twenty
 aglē āsar dīn-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Bērī-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē	māḍ	lēwarnē-kī	QASĀI	chishmī	dī.	Hamē	khabar
thousand-for	village	taking-of		application	was-given	To-us	information
huī kī	ahēl	Bērī-kā	kāḍū	māḍ	lēwartā	hai	Ham
became that	one	Beri-of	banyā	village	taking	is	We
lāgwārē	batlē	sāi-kē	earnest-money-of	kas-āē	paying-came	Aisī	hakāyat
hundred	rupees			na	lagē	Such	matter
hōwē,	māḍ	bhi	gaunē	should-succeed	aur	and	na
should-happen,	village	also	to-get	kar-kē	Bērī	kahilē	bhi
ghārē jāwē	Hap-kē-hap	khumā	word	having-made	Beri	again-went	also
lost should-go	All-together	thāikā-kar	having-gathered	khumā	hiyā,	'tum	Bērī
thāuk-kar	hap-kē-hap-kō	all		word	was-made,	'you	hamārē
reaching	Kāḍū	tumhārā	hai,	māḍ	lēwarnā	thāp	hiyā
birādar	Banyā	yours	is,	hum-by	village	resolve	taken
brother	Jataul-sē	āwarē	hai	Bhāichārē sē	to-take	kāḍū-kō	khumyāō
Ham	Jataul-from	come	are	Brotherhood-on-account-of	karā,	'tū	hamārā
We	na	lēwarē	should-take	Kāḍū-sē	hamārē	birādrā-kō	māḍ
kī māḍ	not			Banyā-to	word	brothers-to	village
that village	hai	Hamārī	hakāyat	mān-lē,	was-made,	'thou	lēwarnē-sē
lālā	art	Our	request	obey,	our	māḍ	taking-from
respected-sir	dē	Kāḍū	hakāyat	mān	gayā,	went,	back
lēwarnē	give	Banyā	request	heedng	lēwar-hiyā	taking-was-taken	
to-take	Ham	birādrā-nē	māḍ				
gayā	We	brother-by	village				
went							

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Binjhaul village was going to be sold We and our brothers in Jataul came together They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jataul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty *biswā*¹, you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe You may get his decision about the sale in a month' After a month a Banyā of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village We have now come from Jataul For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village' They said to him, 'you are our respected master, listen to our words and let our brothers have the village' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business Then we brothers got the village

¹ A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *bighā*

² The word *kāṭhū*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain parcher'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekkan	khōdē-me	Rāmāyā	kanē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammīs
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō		nann-ku	awaryā		Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought		house-to	came		Him-to
arabā-jan	kachēlē	thārtē-the		Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bāla
four-persons	sons	were		Them-of	names	Sank	Bāla
Bhīma	Hanama	Patēl	apani	arabā	jan	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Hanama	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	‘kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammīs	
said,	‘sons,	lo,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hai	Tume	arabā	jan	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammīs-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kid’		E	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give’		These	words
sunwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khūs	huwādā		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became		By-them	such
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bi	tipyā-ch-natte		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-waīsā	batwād-karwād-ke			sūdē	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten	
Kajilī-ku	tuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ko	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	‘pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the?’
said,	‘dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were?’
Use	Sank	kanē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kidyā,	‘bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	‘father, that
phal	miye	bahut	śēbit	diswādyā	Ō	bahut	śēbit
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared	That	very	good
							fruit

<u>thārtal.</u>	Maĩ	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	tharā-hiyā-hai.
<i>is</i>	<i>By-me</i>	<i>that-of</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>I ept-to/en-is.</i>
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pīrwādaū'
<i>That</i>	<i>rain-of</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>time-in</i>	<i>am-coming'</i>

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In a certain village there lived a Patēl named Rāmayyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words, they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmayyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ

The caste known as *saigalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-qar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *saqal*, to polish.

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strip between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artisan class.'

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere'.

Of these 1,518 were returned as Hindus, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called Sikligarī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Samprizon *ta'luqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dīlarō*, son, *dikara*, sons, *gāyāiyō*, cows, the case suffixes dative *-nē*, ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*), genitive *-nō*, locative *-mā*, pronouns such as *mitō*, my, *ham*, we, *tume*, you, verbal forms such as *chhē*, is, *lo'ō*, was, *lido'ō*, took, *mal'yū*, it was got, *charāto'ō-nō*, to tend, *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disappearance of aspirates, compare *chhukhlō*, hungering, *chōllāwā*, to be called, *duttinē*, having eaten, *nittē*, always, *guffā*, bale, *khubō*, standing, *sādinē*, having searched, *hatō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pāñjabī, the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*, thus, *thauṅgā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g* future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part III, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part III, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *v* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *lh* instead of an *s*. Thus *lh* has been treated as a spirant *lh* in dealing with Sīyālgīrī. In Sīkalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Sīyālgīrs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sīkalgārs, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sīkalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Sīyālgīrs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *lh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sīkalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sīkalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *lōyrā*, people, men, *lhālmānyū*, swine, *lhēdō*, village, *lhōl*, house, *gār*, give, *chingā*, dress, *chōlō*, good, *chhūmnō*, horse, *duṭ*, eat, *dhōtīyō*, belly, *nikat*, run, *nikar*, die, *nikdīyō*, thief, *pādō*, bull, *pottū*, child, *ranban*, wife, *sabādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *lh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel, thus, *khubō*, standing, *lhuppar*, above, *lhelā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime, *lhartīnē*, having heard, *lh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*, thus, *khāt*, seven, *lhāmō*, before, *lhārā*, all, *lhāpdyō*, he was found, *lhō*, hundred. In *lhāpāyō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots, compare *chōllāwā*, to be called, *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*, *chhāndī*, having bound, *chhukhō*, hungering.

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *lh*, which is substituted for a final *s*, thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton, *ikh*, twenty, *dakhalū*, ten, *manekh*, man, *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *lh* in forms such as *ākhī*, she came, *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōt* in *kagōtyō*, did, *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals, thus, *jākan*, he goes, *gahnyō*, went, *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *ohhōhrō*, *rhākan*, he lives, *ihakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put, *jāgal*, go, *dhagil-wā-nū*, of catching, *phaglinē*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Mundā suffixes *lat'*, *lan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *lhl* or *ll* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many, *lehlalā*, how many? *lehlālā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāṇchī*, sin, *mhēcheṭī-lē*, putting take, compare Gujarātī *mēlicī*

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*, thus, *devṭā-nū*, of God, *juṭṭō*, alive, *nākōḍḍū*, nose, *mhōḍḍū*, mouth, *anpū*, food

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 181ff

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ek manekh-nē bē dīkarā hotā Tinā-mā nhānchōn dīkarō
One man-to two sons were Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē -
me-to give' By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō Nhānchōn dīkarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā dīn thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made He so having-done-on that village-in
 jabai dukāl padīnē tī-nē garībī ākhtī Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākī rhakhanyō Ē manekh tī-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained This man him some
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy -gāryō Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōndō-bī duttī-nē dhōtrīyō
having-become some eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan tī-nē kī-kantū kāyī mālyū naī Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not So
 thōknā dīn gakhnyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum padīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtrīyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bhārī nē khuppar anpū māltū tū, mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū
having-filled above food obtained-was, I here hungry am-dying
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwtā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp ohhāndī hdyō Mī tārā dīkarō karīnē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken I thy son having-said
 chōllāwā jōgō naī Ma-nē ēh tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not Me one servant like of-thee-hear
 mhēohvī-lē " Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārīnē āpnā
keep " So having-said - there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhīnē mayā
father-near going-was Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktīnē jāknīnē dhag-līnē matṭi gāryō
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given
 Pachē dīkar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchī kagōtyō Ma-nē tārā dīkarō karīnē chōllāwu
before sin was-done Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō ' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
is-not-fit ' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dīkarā-nē ghāgōtō, nāpchā-mā khangōti ghāgōto,
having-brought my son-to put-on, finger on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō, dutwān-nō ' tayāri kagōtō, ham dūtti-nē
feet-on shoes put, dinner-of preparation make, we having-eaten
 santōs thaungā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dīkarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwto āyō, niktīnē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō ' E khaikīnē khārā
alive came, lost gone-was, was-found ' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā
merry became

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dīkarō khētar-mā hotō Tō khōl-kan
This time-in his elder son field-in was He house-near
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū khaikū āyū Tō tē tsākar-wālā-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came He those servants-among
 ek-nē ohōlāyīnē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-oh ?' kadyō Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
one-to having-called, 'what becoming is ?' said Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyī akhtyō-oh, tō chōkō akhtyō karīnē dutwā kagōtyō, 'im
brother came-even, he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō Yē khaikīnē mōtō dīkarō rekh-āyīnē māhi gaknyō
said This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 naī, karīnē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhi ākhtal,
not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karīnē ti-nē ghanō kadyō Ti-nē tō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
having-said him-to much said That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagoṭinē kadī tāri wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naĩ Pañ mī mārā mhaitarṇē maḷinē dutwā
was-broken not But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōtwādē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naĩ Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not But
 rānd-nō sangat padinē tāri jingī khārī galī-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dikarō khōl-nē ākhtaltākhū tū ti-nē walē dutwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōtyō ' Yabō dikarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī
was-made' Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mū-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē Nīkaryō-tō tāri bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwto āyō, niktinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came, lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē '
to-become proper is'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGARI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpārīō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōtō-tō Ēk
Byapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was One
 dīn tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikdīvā malīnē wakāt sādīnē
day that village in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpārīyā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gattā nikdī karīnē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having made
 h-gayā Pachē to khyāpārīyō bādsahā-kan jāknīnē āpnō khōl-mā
took-away Then that merchant lung-near having-gone own house-in
 nikdī-thēl wāt kadyō 'Im nikdī thawānī ghanī sarmundī
theft-committed story told 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē, āy-nō dīn dharīnē char dīn-mā tū tē nikdīyā-nē
matter is, today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 naī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikārungā, im tī-nē hukum kagōtyō Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off,' so him-to order made This
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nikdīyā-nē patiyō lādwanē walē ghantōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōtyō, pan tē khāpdyā naī
labour did, but they were-found not
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār dīn kharīnē pāchmō dīn
This-much-in lung-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikārungā,' karīnē gām-mā dangōrō
came 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojadyō Yē khaikīnē khārā koyrā talmaiyā, sakarwākantō
was-beaten This having-heard all people were-grieved, because
 kotwāl khārā-nō chōkō hotō Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōdīnē māgī
one clever man lung-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 hdyō
was-taken

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ

The Gulgulās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulgulās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulgulās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulgulās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell, *lugigō*, died, *kutāchhi*, have eaten, *lōi*, tempest, *nēmru*, bullock, *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsi *tauṇā*, fall; *lugnā*, die, *dūtūā*, eat, *nād*, village, Garodī *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five, *jh* for *t* in *jhun-gō*=*tin*, three, *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	hōr	tebigō,	jhun-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō
died

Jhātu sētū	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is</i>

Hamar	pānhū	khāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is</i>

**STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES**

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	Ôdki (Cutch)	Sāsi (Ordinary)	Sāsi (Criminal)
1 One	Ēk	Ēk .	Bck
2 Two .	Dôn	Dô	Dhōr
3 Three	Tin	Tin	Thēr
4 Four	Chār	Chār	Chaug
5 Five	Pāch	Pañj	Nuch
6 Six	Chha	Chē	Nhē
7 Seven	Sāt	Sat .	Nhat
8 Eight	Āṭh	Aṭh	Kōth
9 Nine	Nau	Nau	Khañ
10 Ten	Das	Das .	Khas
11 Twenty	Vis	Wi	Khis
12 Fifty	Pachās	Pañjah	Nañjah
13 Hundred	Sō	Sau	Nhau
14 I	Hē	Hañ	Hañ
15 Of me	Māchā	Mērā	Mērgā
16 Mine .	Māchā	Mērā .	Mērgā .
17 We	Amī	Ham	Ham . .
18 Of us	Am-chā	Mhārā	Mhārgā
19 Our .	Am chā	Mhārā . .	Mhārgā .
20 Thou	Tū	Tañ	Tañ
21 Of thee	Tidhā	Tērā	Tērgā
22 Thine	Tidhā	Tērā .	Tērgā .
23 You	Tamī	Tam .	Tam
24 Of you . .	Tam-chā	Tuhārā	Tuhārgā
25 Your .	Tam chā	Tuhārā .	Tuhārgā

	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Naṭī (State Rampur)
English	Bōk, khakōlā	El kan	Bol
1 One	Dubēlū	Jand	Dhōr
2 Two	Tibēlū	Dhallā	Phēr
3 Three	Chabēlū	Arabā	Chauk
4 Four	Pachēlū	Khammis	Nēch
5 Five	Chhabēlū	This	Nbō
6 Six	Satēlū	Khammis-jand	Nath
7 Seven	Kbatēlū	Khammis-dhallū	Kōṭ
8 Eight	Namēlū	Oṇc-āsir	Khaṇau
9 Nine	Dasēlū	Āsir	Khas
10 Ten	Bisēlū	Mī	Khis
11 Twenty	Rachās	Khādo ṭhōkanō	Machās
12 Fifty	Sawclū	Thōlapō	Khanū
13 Hundred	Maĩ	Maĩ	Hū
14 I	Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
15 Of me	Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
16 Mine	Ham, maĩ	Hamō	Kham
17 We	Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
18 Of us	Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
19 Our	Taĩ, tū	Yō	Nū
20 Thou	Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
21 Of thee	Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
22 Thine	Taĩ, tū	Tumō	Num
23 You	Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
24 Of you	Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
25 Your		-	

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES

Qasul	Sikal asl (Belgamin)	English
Ekkan	Er	1. One
Jaud	Br	2. Two
Dhalla	Tan	3. Three
Arod	Ch	4. Four
Khammis	Pe	5. Five
This	Ch	6. Six
Khammis	Ch	7. Seven
Khammis	Ch	8. Eight
Chamis	Ch	9. Nine
Chamis	Ch	10. Ten
Chamis	Ch	11. Eleven
Chamis	Ch	12. Twelve
Chamis	Ch	13. Thirteen
Chamis	Ch	14. Fourteen
Chamis	Ch	15. Fifteen
Chamis	Ch	16. Sixteen
Chamis	Ch	17. Seventeen
Chamis	Ch	18. Eighteen
Chamis	Ch	19. Nineteen
Chamis	Ch	20. Twenty
Chamis	Ch	21. Twenty-one
Chamis	Ch	22. Twenty-two
Chamis	Ch	23. Twenty-three
Chamis	Ch	24. Twenty-four
Chamis	Ch	25. Twenty-five
Chamis	Ch	26. Twenty-six
Chamis	Ch	27. Twenty-seven
Chamis	Ch	28. Twenty-eight
Chamis	Ch	29. Twenty-nine
Chamis	Ch	30. Thirty

English	Ôdki (Cutch)	Sêsi (Ordinary)	Sêsi (Criminal)
26 He .	Sû	Uh	Buh
27 Of him .	Tê chā	Uškā .	Buskā .
28 His .	Tê chā . . .	Ušku . .	Buskā . .
29 They	Sû, (awô)	Uh	Buh . .
30 Of them	Tê-chā, (awâ chā)	Uškā .	Buskā
31 Their	Tê chā, (awâ chā)	Unkū .	Bupkū . .
32 Hand	Hāth .	Hāth	Khôth
33 Foot	Pag .	Pair . .	Nair
34 Nose	Nāk	Nākk .	Khakk
35 Eye	Ālh	Āllh	Kukkhī
36 Mouth	Mô .	Mûh .	Khûh . .
37 Tooth .	Ḍāt .	Dand .	Khadand
38 Ear	Kān	Kānn . .	Kann . . .
39 Hair	Wār .	Bal .	Bāl .
40 Head	Thôṛ	Sir .	Nhis . .
41 Tongue .	Jibh .	Jibh	Jibh .
42 Belly	Pēt	Pōṭṭ .	Nett . . .
43 Back	Pāṭh	Piṭṭh	Niṭṭh .
44 Iron	Loḡhē	Loḡhā	Loḡhā
45 Gold	Sônē	Saunnā	Baunnā
46 Silver	Rūpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47 Father	Bā	Bapp	Bāptā .
48 Mother	Āī	Mā	Mautī
49 Brother	Bhan	Bhai	Bhautā
50 Sister	Bāṇ	Bān	Dhabāṇ
51 Man	Māpas	Banda	Kōdmī
52 Woman	Bāyī	Janani	Bārmī

Kolhātī (Akola)	Gārodī	Myanwale	English
Ō	Wō	Ū	He
Us kū	Wō-kē	Wākō	Of him
Us kē	Wō-kē	Wākō	His
Ō	Yō	Vō	They
Un kū	Yō-kē	Wākōyi	Of them
Un kē	Yō-kē	Wākōyi	Their
Hōtta, kohōt	Gōnō	Gōt	Hand.
Pāw, gōnā	Gōnālī	Gōpō	Foot.
Khanākka, nākka	Nakēchi	Khinak	Nose
Kōkhha	Kanēchi	Gīdī	Eye
Khumma	Khōmqā	Chhōmqō	Mouth
Natta	Dāqwi	Kōq	Tooth
Rānna	Kānēchi	Rūlan	Ear
Nāy	Turwalō	Rāḷ	Hair
ṭummi	Tōloho	Niskō	Head
Nib	Jibēchi	Jīb	Tongue
Nēṭ	Ḍhamuklō	Rēpaṭ	Belly
Nṭṭh	Panēchi	Niṭ	Back
Lokhaṇḍ	Dharālī	Lhō	Iron
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōnō	Gold.
Nāri	Gaudilō	Nāndī	Silver
Bāptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō	Father
Bhāwtī	Māwutī	Māwutī	Mother
Bhāwtā	Bhēkdē	Rhāk|ō	Brother
Bānchi	Bhanlchi	Rhāk|ī	Sister
Kōdmī	Khadmī, or kējā	Khādmi	Man
Kājjī, hōṭṭī	Kājī	Ḍāmī	Woman.

English.	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Nāṭī (State Rampur)
26 He . .	Bihī, wō, hūrō, ūr	Ē	Wuh
27 Of him . .	Būrō-kō, urū-kō	Urōkō	Nus kī
28 His .	Būrō-kō, urū kō	Urōkō	Nus kī
29 They	Bihī, wō, hūrō, ūr .	Ō	Wō
30 Of them . .	Būrō-kō, urū kō	Unakō .	Nun kā
31 Their	Būrō-kō, urū-kō	Unākō .	Nun kā
32 Hand	Kōhat .	Hattēṭo	Hōt
33 Foot	Guṇārā, gurārā	Guṇḍale	Naṭ
34 Nose	Nak hēli	Nakōta	Nakṣā
35 Eye	Ṭakhni	Khakelē	Ūkh . .
36 Mouth	Khōsar	Mōṇḍā	Khum
37 Tooth .	Dat-hēlū	Datēṭ	Khudṭ .
38 Ear	Kan-hēlā .	Kanēlē .	Rān .
39 Hair	Bar-hēlā . . .	Bālō	Khabāl
40 Head	Mur-hēlā .	Śūrō .	N̄has
41 Tongue	Jim hēli .	Jibēli .	Khajib .
42 Belly	Pit-hēlō .	Pēṭo	Nēṭ
43 Back	Pithēli	Pitēli	Niṭh
44 Iron	Lohēlō . .	Lhawō .	Khalōvā
45 Gold	Rōnō	Sunnō .	Bānā
46 Silver	Rādī . .	Chāndī .	Khanādī . .
47 Father	Bap-hēlō	Bāpō	Khabāp, nāp
48 Mother	Mahtārī .	Māyyā	Khamā
49 Brother	Chibhāī . . .	Bhaī	Bhaoṭā .
50 Sister	Rahin	Bhavan	Chhēn .
51 Man	Najaū, khādmi	Kājarō . .	Kūdmi . .
52 Woman	Najai	Kājarī . .	Khēr

Qasiri	Sikalguri (Belgaum)	English
Une	To	
U- kũ	Tinũ	26 He
Us kũ	Tinũ .	27 Of him
Uno	Tõ	28 His
Un kũ	Tinã	29 They
Un kũ	Tinã	30 Of them
Hatõta .	Hatõ	31 Their
Guðãk	Pağõ	32 Hand
Phukani .	Nãkõqũ	33 Foot
Alõpũ	Kũngi	34 Nose
Ma	Mhõqũ	35 Eye
Chabino	Dãtõ .	36 Mouth
Kannõtrũ	Kãkõqũ	37 Tooth
Bãkã	Bãlõ	38 Ear
Šir	Mãtũ	39 Hair
Mĩnjũ	Jib	40 Head
Khũlũ	Dhõtrĩyõ	41 Tongue
Pĩŕ	Pĩŕõqũ	42 Belly
Lũwũ	Lhõqũ	43 Back
Sõnu .	Khõnũ	44 Iron
Khũrũ	Chãndi	45 Gold
Bãbũ	Yabõ	46 Silver
~ammĩ	Yãyi	47 Father
Tawana bhũ (elder), subũk-bhũ (young er)	Bhãyi	48 Mother
Bũ (elder), bhũn (younger)	Bhõp	49 Brother
Sabũkũ	Maũkũ	50 Sister
Subũkndi	Bãyũ	51 Man
		52 Woman.

English.	Ōdkī (Cutch)	Sāsi (Ordinary)	Sāsi (Criminal)
53 Wife	Waū .	Rann	Bārml .
54 Child	Chhōyṛā	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍī	Bōrā, bōri .
55 Son	Pūt	Pūt .	Bōrō
56 Daughter	Dhū .	Dhī	Bōri
57 Slave	Golām	Ghulām . .	Ghulām
58 Cultivator	Khērī .	Kajjā	Khēṭā
59 Shepherd	Bharnār	Ājri, ajārī	Ājri, ajārī
60 God	Bhagwān	Khudā .	Rudāh
61 Devil	Dait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62 Sun .	Sōraj	Sūraj .	Nūraj .
63 Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā .
65 Fire	Tāḍhā	Āgg	Pingī, kōgg
66 Water	Pāpi .	Pāpi	Chai .
67 House	Ghar	Ghar	Khaulā .
68 Horse	Gōṛā	Ghōṛā	Kudrā .
69 Cow	Gāy	Gā .	Lālsī . .
70 Dog	Kutā	Kutā . .	Bhūkal
71 Cat	Munā	Bahā .	Komā, dhēhrā .
72. Cock	Kukṛā	Kūkar .	Kūlar
73 Duck	Bodak	Batak	Batak .
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōtā	Gannā
75 Camel	Ūṭh	Ūṭh .	Thūb
76 Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Churiyā, pañchhi	Nipyā
77 Go	Ja	Jānā .	Jasrnā
78 Eat	Khā	Khānā .	Dātā
79 Sit	Pēs	Baisnā	Thaūknā

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Antī (State Rampur)
53 Wife	Mehrārū	Jō	Chhū
54 Child		Bachchu	Khabāluk
55 Son	Chābkō	Baidō	Bōri
56 Daughter	Chābki	Baidī	Bōri
57 Slave	Gulambhōlō	Pālnakdō	Gulum
58 Cultivator	Khit-hēlō	Rait	Rasān
59 Shepherd	Dhararā	Dhangar	Randariyā
60 God	Rām	Mahābhōb	Nanmēswar
61 Devil	Bhūt hēlō	Santāno	Khabhūt
62 Sun	Suraj hēlō	Surūj	Nūraj
63 Moon	Chand-hēlō	Chānd	Khanūd
64 Star	Tar-hēlū	Tārō	Khatārā
65 Fire	Jhurāf	Ahgarō	Ōg
66 Water	Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhāf
67 House	Rib	Nandō	Lohallā
68 Horse	Ghurārō	Ghōdō	Roharichā
69 Cow	Nādlī	Gāyō	Tiyārgī rāō
70 Dog	Jhūkil	Kuttō	Jhumkar
71 Cat	Bilāi	Billī	Khablāf
72 Cook	Murgā	Muragā	Khamurg
73 Duck	Radak	Batkō	Tiyārgī nadak
74 Ass	Gādhā	Gaddō	Rohā
75 Camel	Uṭ-hēlō	Hūṭ	Hūṭ
76 Bird	Churāi	Parinde	Narand
77 Go	Jaogh	Nikhār	Jāsūrō
78 Eat	Dūt	Thūr	Doti lēō
79 Sit	Raiṭh	Chaiṭ	Thōkī jāō

Gipsy		Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	Englah.
Yorū	Ranban	53	Wife
Bachchā	Pottū	54	Child
Kachulā	Dikarō	55	Son
Kachōlī	Dikarī	56	Daughter
Hāyabada	Lōktō	57	Slave
Rait	Rharī	58	Cultivator
Dhangar	Dhangar	59	Shepherd
Allā	Dōwṭō	60	God.
Śaitan	Bhutadū	61	Devil.
Surtj	Din	62	Sun
Chānd	Chānd	63	Moon
Tara	Chandni	64	Star
Angir	Āg	65	Fire
Nirgā	Pani	66	Water
Nann	Khol	67	House
Ghōda	Chlumno	68	Horse
Bhakkar	Gāvḍi	69	Cow
Kuttā	Kutro	70	Dog
Billi	Billādi	71	Cat.
Muraga	Kalḍō	72	Cook
Badak muragi	Badak	73	Duck
Gadaḍā	Gadaḍā	74	Ass
Hāt	Hāt	75	Camel
Parindū	Pakhrn	76	Bird
Khar	Jākan	77	Go
Śūd	Dut	78	Eat
Boṭwād	Bukhal	79	Sit.

English	Ödki (Catch)	Sāsi (Ordinary)	Sāsi (Criminal)
80 Come	Āw	Amū . . .	Asrnā . . .
81 Beat .	Mār . .	Marnā .	Idnē .
82 Stand . .	Ūbh	Khlōnu .	Khlōnē, kln)ñ or rn)ñ hōpnē
83 Die .	Mar .	Marnā .	Lugnā .
84 Give	Dō .	Dēna .	Dōpnā .
85 Run	Dhōr .	Nasnā, dauṛnā	Binknā .
86 Up	Muthō	Ufari	Khōpar
87 Near	ParKhō mñ	Nōrō	Dhannōrō
88 Down	Nichō .	Tn)ñ	Tn)ñ .
89 Far .	Parō	Dūr .	Khndūr .
90 Before	Mōrō	Aggō	Kuggō
91 Behind	Wāsō . .	Pichhō .	Nioñhō
92 Who	Kōr .	Kaun	Kaur .
93 What	Kāy	Kyā	Kyā .
94 Why	Kulāy	Kyñ	Kyñ
95 And	Anō . .	Tō	Tō
96 But	Paṇ	Par .	Par .
97 If	Jō .	Jēkar, jō	Jōkar jō
98 Yes	Ha .	Āhō	Ānō
99 No .	Na	Na	Na .
100 Ajas	Arō	Hāō	Hāō
101 A father	Ba	Bapp	Bāptā
102. Of a father	Ba chā	Bappā gā (gō, gī, -gīñ)	Bāptō gā .
103 To a father	Bā nō .	Bappā-gñ .	Bāptō gñ .
104 From a father	Bā ti	Bappā-thō	Bāptō thō
105 Two fathers	Dōn ba	Dō bapp	Dhōr bāptō
106 Fathers	Ba	Bāpp	Bāptō

Kulhāṭī (Akola)	Garoḍī	Myanwālī	English
Nyākān	Hāval	Barwāḍ	80 Come
Thāy	Lugā	Lot	81 Beat
Ulā rahō	Khūt-kō khub-ra	Khub-rōk	82 Stand
Lukī jī	Lug	Lugit	83 Die
Ḍēppa	Walā	Khuchwāḍ	84 Give
Nhas	Nimal	Chigawāḍ	85 Run
Uprī	Khūpar	Khūpar	86 Up
Nyik	Kan	Khurō	87 Near
Tanhō	Tan	Talkō	88 Down
Dar	Dū	Dūg	89 Far
Sīm	Khagāḍī	Khagāḍī	90 Before
Pichchhe	<u>Dzichhāḍī</u>	Ripchō	91 Behind
Kōn, jō	Kōn	Kun	92 Who.
Kū	Kō	Ku	93 What.
Kyō	Kaikō	Kaykō	94 Why
An	Haur	Ōr	95 And
Par, naranṭa	Lekin	Lēkin	96 But
Inb	To	To	97 If
Hāw	Hōy	Hā	98 Yes
Nābāpi	Hapenā	Nāī	99 No
Arēv	Arv	Ayyō	00 Alas
Bāptā	Ek mū bhawutō	Khōk māwutō	01 A father
Baptō kū	Ek mu bhawutō-kō	Khōk māwutō kō	02 Of a father
Bāptō ku	Ek mū bhāwutō-kū	Khōk māwutō kū	03 To a father
Bāppū phō si	Ek mā bhāwutō si	Khōk māwutō si	04 From a father
Dhōr bāptō	Dul mā bhāwutō	Dog māwutō	05 Two fathers
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō	06 Fathers.

English.	Kanjari (Sitapur)	Kanjar (Belgaum)	Nati (State Rampur)
80 Come	Aogh	Awar	Āsurō
81 Beat	Lugai	Kutwār	Lōthō
82 Stand	Thapō hō	Khūt	Rarōpi
83 Die	Lugaj	Margō	Lōgi juō
84 Give	Tiūr	Kidō	Dēpi dē
85 Run	Daurī	Nhaṭwārō	Khadōpō
86 Up	Khāpar	Khūpai	Khūpar
87 Near	Nagich hēlē	Pās	Hadōrō
88 Down	Tar-hēli	Jimani	Khatar
89 Far	Dur-hēli	Dār	Khadōr
90 Before	Rāmnē	Sambōr	Kūgō
91 Behind	Richhē	Pichwād	Nichhē
92 Who	Kaon	Kōn	Rōn
93 What	Kā	Kā	Ryā
94 Why	Kith-kō	Kai	Nō
95 And	Baur	Aur	Kōr
96 But	Mul	Phurtu	
97 If		To	
98 Yes	Hā	Hō	Nē
99 No	Nāh	Nā	Mahī
100 Alas		Āy	Nahōs
101 A father	Bap-hēlō	Ekkan bāpō	Bēk khabāp
102 Of a father	Bap-hēlā-kā	Ekkan bāpō kā	Bēk khabāp rā
103 To a father	Bap-hēlā-kī	Ekkan bāpō ku	Bēk khabāp rō
104 From a father	Bap-hēlā sē	Ekkan bāpō se	Bēk khabāp rē
105 Two fathers	Dubēlū bap-hēlā	Jauḍ bāpāū	Dhōr khabāp
106 Fathers	Bap-hēlā	Bāpāū	Chhūt khabāp

Qasıl	Sikalguri (Belgann)	English
Awar	Ākhṭal	80 Come
Ghāḍ	Nīlār	81 Beat
Uṭṇāḍ	Khunōthar	82 Stand
Bigar	Nīkar	83 Die
Kid	Gār	84 Give
Nhūt	Nīkaṭ	85 Run
Uppar	Khuppar	86 Up
Najik	Kan	87 Near
Talle	Khēṭo	88 Down
Dār	Dār	89 Far
Simmo	Khāmō	90 Before
Pichcho	Pācho	91 Behind
Kor	Kun	92 Who.
Krī	Sr	93 What.
Ki	Sakarwā	94 Why
Bhi	Sōlari	95 And
L-kun	Pan	96 But
To	To	97 If
Hoya	Hō	98 Yes
Naī	Naī	99 No
Ayyo	Ayy'yyo	100 Alas
Ekkan baba	Ek yabō	101 A father
Ekkan bābā kū	Ek yabā nō	102 Of a father
Ekkan babu-kū	Ek yabā nō	103 To a father
Ekkan bābā so	Ek yabā-tō	104 From a father
Jauḍ bābā	Bō yabā	105 Two fathers
Babū	Yabu	106 Fathers

English.	Ôḍḱī (Cuteb)	Sēḱī (Oḍḱarv)	Sēḱī (Criminal)
107 Of fathers	Bāwā-chā	Bappē-gā	Bāp'ē-gā
108 To fathers	Bāwā-nē	Bappē-gū	Bāp'ē-gū . . .
109 From fathers	Bāwā-ti	Bappē-thō	Bāp'ē-thō .
110 A daughter	Dhū	Dhi	Bōri
111 Of a daughter	Dnū-chā, dhū-chā, etc	Dhiā-gā	Bōriā-gā .
112 To a daughter	Dhū-nē	Dhiā-gū	Bōriā-gū .
113 From a daughter	Dhū-ti	Dhiā-thō	Bōriā-thō .
114 Two daughters	Dūm dhūā	Dō dhiā	Dhōr bōriā
115 Daughters	Dhūā	Dhā	Bōriā
116 Of daughters	Dhūā-chā	Dhā-gā	Bōriā-gā
117 To daughters	Dhūā-nē	Dhā-gū	Bōriā-gū .
118 From daughters	Dhūā-ti	Dhā-thō	Bōriā-thō .
119 A good man	Sārā mānas	Changā (or nāk) ādmi (or banda)	Chēngūā kōdmi
120 Of a good man	Sārā mānsā-chā	Changē ādmiā-gā (or bandā-gā)	Chēngūā kōdmiā-gā .
121 To a good man	Sārā mānsā-nē	Changē ādmiā-gū	Chēngūā kōdmiā-gū .
122 From a good man	Sārā mānsā-ti	Changē ādmiā-thō	Chēngūā kōdmiā-thō
123 Two good men	Dūm sārā mānsē	Dō changē ādmi	Dhōr chēngūā kōdmi
124 Good men	Sārā mānsē	Changē ādmi (or bandē)	Chēngūā kōdmi .
125 Of good men	Sārā mānsā-chā	Changē ādmiā-gā	Chēngūā kōdmiā-gā
126 To good men	Sārā mānsā-nē	Changē ādmiā-gū	Chēngūā kōdmiā-gū .
127 From good men	Sārā mānsā-ti	Changē ādmiā-thō	Chēngūā kōdmiā-thō
128 A good woman	Sārā bāpī	Changī janāni	Chēngūā bāmi
129 A bad boy	Nīkām chhōṭṭā	Bhaurā māndā	Nharā (or nharāb) bōrā
130 Good women	Sārā cārnā	Changī janāniā	Chēngūā bāmiā
131 A bad girl	Nīkām chhōṭṭī	Bhaurī māndī	Nharī (or nharāb) bōrī
132 Good	Sārā	Changā	Chēngūā
133 Bad	Wadārā sārā	[Is thō or is sathā] changā	[Is thō or is sathā] chēngūā

Kōhkaŋi (Akola)	Garōḍi	Myanwale	English
Bāpte-kā	Bhāwutō kō . . .	Māwutō kō	107 Of fathers
Bāpte ŋhō	Bhāwutō kū	Mawutō kū	108 To fathers
Bāpte-thō si	Bhāwutō si	Māwutō-si	109 From fathers
Chhōri	Ek mū lāwḍi	Khōk golpi	110 A daughter
Chhōri kū	Ek-mū lāwḍi kō	Khōk golpi kō	111 Of a daughter
Chhōri kū	Ek mū lāwḍi kū	Khōk golpi kū	112 To a daughter
Chhōri ŋhō-si	Ek mū lāwḍi sō	Khōk golpi sō	113 From a daughter
Dhōr chhōriā	Dul mū lāwḍi	Dōg golpi	114 Two daughters
Chhōriā	Lāwḍi	Golpi	115 Daughters
Chhōriyā kō	Lāwḍi kō . . .	Golpi-kō	116 Of daughters.
Chhōriyā kū	Lāwḍi kū	Golpi-kū	117 To daughters
Chhō-iyā ŋhō si	Lāwḍi sō . . .	Golpi sō	118 From daughters
Kōchchhū kōdmī	Ek mū chisam khadmi	Khōk khāchō khādmi	119 A good man.
Kōchchhū kōdmīyā kō	Ek mū chisam khadmi kō	Khōk khāchō khādmi kō	120 Of a good man
Kōchchhū kōdmīyā kū	Ek mū chisam khadmi kū	Khōk khāchō khādmi kū	121 To a good man
Kōchchhū kōdmīyā ŋhō si	Ek mū chisam khadmi sō	Khōk khāchō khādmi sō	122 From a good man
Dhōr bhālō kōdmī	Dul-mū chisam khadmi	Dōg khāchō khādmi	123 Two good men
Bhālō kōdmī	Chisam khadmi	Khāchō khādmi	124 Good men
Bhālō kōdmīyā kō	Chisam khadmi kō	Khāchō khādmi-kō	125 Of good men
Bhālō kōdmīyā kū	Chisam khadmi-kū	Khāchō khādmi-kū	126 To good men
Bhālō kōdmīyā ŋhō si	Chisam khadmi sō	Khāchō khādmi sō	127 From good men.
Hēṭṭi kōsal	Ek mū chisam kājī	Khēk nri ḍāmi	128 A good woman
Burā chhōrā	Ek mū bilōḍ lāwḍō	Khōk sugaṇō golō	129 A bad boy
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā	Chisam kājī	Nri ḍāmi	130 Good women
Burā kayṭi	Ek mū bilōḍ lāwḍi	Khōk sugaṇi gōḷi	131 A bad girl
Kōsal, achchhū	Chisam	Khāchō	132 Good
Achchhū	Istī chisam	Wā sō-bi khāchō	133 Better

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Vatī (State Rampur)
107 Of fathers	Bap-hālū kā	Bapāū kā	Khabāpō rī
108 To fathers	Bap hēla kā	Bāpāū-ku	Khabāpō-rō
109 From fathers	Bap-hēlā sō	Bapāū-se	Khabāpō-rō
110 A daughter	Chūbki	Ekkan baidi	Bek bōri
111 Of a daughter	Chūbki kā	Ekkan baidi kā	Bek bōri rī
112 To a daughter	Chūbki kū	Ekkan baidi-ku	Bek bōri rō
113 From a daughter	Chūbki-sō	Ekkan baidi so	Bek bōri ru
114 Two daughters	Dubēlā chūbki	Jand baidō	Dhōr bōriyā
115 Daughters	Chūbki	Baidō	Chhūt bōriyā
116 Of daughters	Chūbki kā	Baidō-kā	Bōriyō rī
117 To daughters	Chūbki kū	Baidō ku	Bōriyō-rō
118 From daughters	Chūbki sō	Baidō se	Bōriyō-rī
119 A good man	Khachchhō najāū	Ekkan nirō kājarō	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi
120 Of a good man	Khachchhō najāū kā	Ekkan nirō kājarō-kā	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi rī
121 To a good man	Khachchhō najāū-kū	Ekkan nirō kājarō-ku	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rō
122 From a good man	Khachchhō najāū sō	Ekkan nirō kājarō-so	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi rī
123 Two good men	Dubēlā khachchhō najāū	Jandō nirō kājarā	Dhōr kuchchhā kōdmi
124 Good men	Khachchhō najāū	Nirō kājarā	Chhūt kuchchhā kōdmi
125 Of good men	Khachchhō najāū-kā	Nirō kājarā kā	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-rī
126 To good men	Khachchhō najāū-kū	Nirō kājarā-ku	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-rō
127 From good men	Khachchhō najāū-sō	Nirō kājarā se	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-rō
128 A good woman	Khachchhi najai	Ekkan niri kājari	Bek kuchchhā khēr
129 A bad boy	Dharāb chūbko	Ekkan kargāl baidō	Bek rarāb bōrā
130 Good women	Khachchhi najai	Niri kājarō	Kuchchhā khēriyā
131 A bad girl	Dharāb chūbki	Ekkan kargāl baidi	Bek rarāb bōri
132 Good	Khachchhō	Nirō	Kuchchhā
133 Better		Us-dō nirō	Chhūt kuchchhā

Qand	Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	English
Ribā ka	Yabā-nō	107 Of fathers
Ribā kā	Yabā nō	108 To fathers
Fabā se	Yabā tō	109 From fathers
Ikkan kach h	Ek dikarī	110 A daughter
Fek ka kacheli kā	Ek dikarī-nō	111 Of a daughter
Fek ka kach h lā	Ek dikarī nō	112 To a daughter
Ikkan kach h e	Ek dikarī tō	113 From a daughter
Band kacheli	Bē dikarīn	114 Two daughters
Kach hā	Dikarīvā	115 Daughters
Kach hā nā	Dikarīn nō	116 Of daughters
Kach hā lā	Dikarīvā nō	117 To daughters
Kach hā se	Dikarīvā-tō	118 From daughters
Fekkan : bāt sabākā	Ek chokū manekh	119 A good man.
Fekkan : bāt sabākā nō	Ek chokū manekh nō	120 Of a good man
Fekkan : bāt sabākā lā	Ek chokū manekh nō	121 To a good man
Fekkan : bāt sabākā se	Ek chokū manekh tō	122 From a good man
Band : bāt sabākā	Bē chokū manekh	123 Two good men
Ś bāt sabākā	Chokū mankhō	124 Good men
Ś bāt sabākā nō	Chokū mankhō nō	125 Of good men
Ś bāt sabākā lā	Chokū mankhō nō	126 To good men
Ś bāt sabākā se	Chokū mankhō-tō	127 From good men.
Ikkan : bāt sabākā	Ek chokī baykō	128 A good woman
Fekkan bayib chibōrī or chibannakā	Ek khattar chibōknō	129 A bad boy
Ś bāt sabākā	Chokiyō bākdīyō	130 Good women
Fekkan bayib chibōrī or chibannakī	Ek khattar chibōknī	131 A bad girl
Ś bāt	Chokō	132 Good
Istī ē bāt	Istī chokō	133 Better

English	Ódki (Catch)	Sāsi (Ordinary)	Sāsi (Criminal)
134 Best	Badhā-ti surā	[Sabhāñ satthā] chatga	[Sabhāñ satthā] chōngua
135 High	Ūchā	Uchchā	Khuchchā
136 Higher	Wadhārō ūchā	[Is thō] uchchā	[Is thō] khuchchā
137 Highest	Badhā thi ūchā	[Sabhāñ satthā] uchchā	[Sabhāñ satthā] khuchchā
138 A horse	Gōrā, (hisanā)	Ghōra	Kādrā
139 A mare	Gōri, (hisanī)	Ghōri	Kādrī
140 Horses	Gōrō	Ghōrō	Kādrō
141 Mares	Gōrā	Ghōrīñ	Kādrīñ
142 A bull	Gōdhā, dhaga	Dhagga	Kangal
143 A cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālā
144 Bulls	Gōdhō, dhagō	Dhaggō	Kangal
145 Cows	Gauā	Gai	Lālāñ
146 A dog	Kutā	Kūtā	Bhūkal
147 A bitch	Kuti	kutti	Bhūkali
148 Dogs	Kutō	Kūtō	Bhūkal
149 Bitches	Kutā	Kuttiñ	Bhūkaliñ
150 A he goat	Bakrā	Bakrā	Chhābrā
151 A female goat	Bakri	Bakri	Chhābrī
152 Goats	Bakrō	Bakrō	Chhābrō
153 A male deer	Hēn	Harn	Harn
154 A female deer	Hēni	Harni	Harni
155 Deer	Hēn	Harn	Harn
156 I am	Hē sō	Hañ hañ	Hañ hōpō
157 Thou art	Tñ si	Tañ hañ	Tañ hōpō
158 He is	Sñ sō	Uh hañ	Bah hōpō
159 We are	Amñ sñ	Ham hñ	Ham hōpō
160 You are	Tamñ sawā	Tam hō	Tam hōpō

Kallaṭi (Ako'a)		Gāroḍi	Myunwale	Engl.
Achehhā		Dābi cheṣam	Nabaḷḷe si khūchō	1 Best
Khuchehū		Khuchehō	Khunchō	2 High
		Istī khuchehō	Wā sō bi khunchō	3 Higher
Rhāḷa		Dābi khuchehō	Nabaḷḷe si khunchō	4 Highest
Rhōḍi		I k mō ghōrtō	Khēk ghōḍohō	5 A horse
Rhōḍi		I k mō ghōrti	Khēk ghōḍehi	6 A mare
Rhōḍi		Ghōrt	Ghōḍehō	7 Horses
		Ghōrti	Ghōḍehi	8 Mares
B i		I k mō k'wōsō	Khēk nōl	9 A bull
Rav		I k mō k'wōsi	Khēk gūyi	10 A cow
B i		k'wōs	Nēl	11 Bulls
k'wōs		k'wōsi	Gūyi	12 Cows
Dhōḷal		I mō d'ghuglā	Khēk jukelā	13 A dog
Rettī		I k mō d'ghugli	Khēk jukeli	14 A bitch
Dhōḷal		D'ghuglā	Jukelō	15 Dogs
Rettī		D'ghugli	Jukeli	16 Bitches
Nōḷad		I k mō n'mnā	Khēk nōkaḍa	17 A ho goat.
Nōḷad		I k mō n'mni	Khēk ruohali	18 A female goat.
Nōḷad		R mū	Nōkadō	19 Goats
Ratt khōran		Nar harṭi	Khēk ḍhāḷiṭi kharaṇ	20 A male deer
Khōran		Mādi harṭi	Khēk nādi kharaṇ	21 A female deer
Khōran		Harṭi	Kharaṇ	22 Deer
Hū h'		Mi hapelā	Mō hū	23 I am.
Tū h'		Tā hapelā	Tā hū	24 Thou art
Ō h'		Wō hapelā	Ū hū	25 He is
Ham hō		Ham hapelā	Hamō hū	26 We are
Tam hō		Tum hapelā	Tamō hū	27 You are

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Holgamm)	Naṭī (State of anpur)
134 Best		Byāḍīk nīrō,	Rab-r kucheḥlu
135 High	Khūñchō	Khuñchō	Khūñlu
136 Higher		Us dē khūñchō	Chhūt lūñchā
137 Highest		Byāḍīk khūñchō	Rab-r khūñchā
138 A horse	Ghurārō	Ekkan ghōḍō	Bek ruharchā
139 A mare	Ghurārī	Ekkan ghōḍī	Bek ruharchī
140 Horses	Rahut ghurārō	Ghōḍā	Ruharchō
141 Mares	Rahut ghurārī	Ghōḍī	Ruharchivā
142 A bull	Sār hēlō	Ekkan padō	Bek lōd
143 A cow	Nāḍlī	Ekkan gāvō	Bek tivārgī rā
144 Bulls		Pāḍā	Nāḍ
145 Cows		Gāvō	Tiyārgī rāḍ
146 A dog	Jhūḱl	Ekkan kutṭō	Bek chhumkar
147 A bitch	Thūḱlī	Ekkan kutṭī	Bek chhumkarī
148 Dogs		Kutṭā	Chhūt chhumkar
149 Bitches		Kutṭī	Chhūt chhumkarīyā
150 A he goat	Rakrā	Ekkan bakārō	Bek chakrā
151 A female goat	Rakrī	Ekkan bakārī	Bek chakrī
152 Goats	Rakrā	Bakārū	Chakrīyā
153 A male deer	Khurn	Ekkan harn	Kharan
154 A female deer	Khurnī	Ekkan harnī	Kharanī
155 Deer	Khurn	Harnō	Chhūt kharan
156 I am	Maĩ hughū	Maĩ hō	Khō rō
157 Thou art	Taĩ hughē	Yō hō	Khanfī hōchō
158 He is	Wō haughō	Ē hō	Woh hōchō
159 We are	Ham haughō, maĩ hughū	Hamō hē	Kham hōchō
160 You are	Taĩ hughē	Tumō hē	Nam hōchō

Qasāl	Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	English
Sab se sūbit	Ghaṇṇō chōkō	134 Best
Unchā	Uchchō	135 High
Isti unchā	Isti uchchō	136 Higher
Sab-se unchā	Ghaṇṇō uchchō	137 Highest
Ekkan ghōḍā	Ek chhūmnō	138 A horse
Ekkan ghōḍī	Ek chhūmnī	139 A mare
Ghōḍō	Chhūmnā	140 Horses.
Ghōḍvā	Chhūmniyō	141 Mares
Ekkan pādā	Ek pādō	142 A bull
Ekkan bhakkār	Ek gāyḍī	143 A cow
Pādō	Pādā	144 Bulls
Bhakkārā	Gāyḍiyō	145 Cows
Ekkan kutṭā	Ek kutrō	146 A dog
Ekkan kutṭī	Ek kutrī	147 A bitch
Kutṭe	Kutrā	148 Dogs
Kutṭiyā	Kutriyō	149 Bitches
Ekkan bakārā	Ek bakrō	150 A he goat.
Ekkan chhēli	Ek bahri	151 A female goat.
Bakārō	Bakra	152 Goats
Ekkan nar harap	Ek harpō	153 A male deer
Ekkan mādi haran	Ek harnī	154 A female deer
Harapā	Harpā	155 Deer
Māi thārtaū	Mī chhē	156 I am.
Tā thārtaū	Tā chhē	157 Thou art
Une thārtaū	Tō chhē	158 He is
Ham thārte	Ham chhē	159 We are
Tume thārte	Tum chhē	160 You are

English	Ôdki (Catch)	Sñai (Ordinary)	Sñai (Criminal)
161 They are	Sñ si	Uh haĩ	Buh hõpõ .
162 I was	Hõ silã	Haũ thiyya (or siyya, etc)	Haũ thiyyã (or siyya, etc)
163 Thou wast	Tñ sila	Tañ thiyya	Tañ thiyya
164 He was	Sũ sila	Uh thiyya .	Buh thiyya .
165 We were	Amĩ silč	Ham thiyyõ	Ham thiyyõ
166 You were	Tamĩ silč	Tam thiyyõ .	Tam thiyyõ
167 They were	Sã silč	Uh thiyyõ	Buh thiyyõ
168 Be .	Hõ	Hõ (sing), hõwõ (plur)	Hõp, hõpõ
169 To be	Hõnẽ	Hõnã	Hõpnã
170 Being	Hõta	Hõtã	Hõptã
171 Having been	Hõtinõ	Hõtkõ	Hõptkõ
172 I may be	Hõ hawẽ	Haũ hõwõ	Haũ hõpõ
173 I shall be	Hõ havĩ, hõ havĩnõ	Haũ hongrũ	Hõpnãgrũ
174 I should be	Machõ halõ khapõ	Haũ hõtã	Hõptã
175 Beat	Mãr	Mãr, mãrõ .	Lõ, lõõ
176 To beat	Mãynẽ	Mãrpã	Lõnã
177 Beating	Mãrti	Martã	Lõtã
178 Having beaten	Mãrtinõ	Mãrtkõ	Lõtkõ
179 I beat	Hõ mãrõ sč	Haũ mãrtã haĩ	Haũ lõtã hõpõ
180 Thou beatest	Tñ mãri si	Tañ mãrtã haĩ	Tañ lõtã hõpõ
181 He beats	Sõ mãrõ sč	Uh mãrtã hai	Buh lõtã hõpõ
182 We beat	Amĩ mãrĩ sũ	Ham mãrtõ hũ	Ham lõtõ hõpõ
183 You beat	Tamĩ mãrã sawẽ	Tam mãrtõ hõ	Tam lõtõ hõpõ
184 They beat .	Sũ mãri si	Uh mãrte haĩ	Buh lõtã hõpõ
185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Mč mãrlẽ	Maĩ mãrna	Maĩ lõyã
186 Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tč mãrlã	Taĩ mãrnã	Taĩ lõyã
187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tčnẽ mãrla	Un mãrnã	Bup lõyã

Kolhātī (Akola)	Garōḍī	Myanwale	English.
Vō hō	Yō hapelā	Vē hū	31 They are
Hū thiyā	Mī chhō	Mō hī	32 I was
Tū thiyā	Tā chhō	Tā hī	33 Thou wast.
Ō thivā	Wō chhō	Ū hī	34 He was
Ham thiyō	Ham chhō	Hamō hī	65 We were
Tam thiyō	Tum chhō	Tumō hī	66 You were
Vō thiyō	Yō chhō	Vē hī	67 They were
Hō	Rhapel	Rhō	68 Be
Hōnā	Rhapel nē lō	Rhēnēkū	69 To be
Hōtā	Rhapel tō	Rhētā	70 Being
Huwā hō	Rhapelēsō	Rhōkē	71 Having been
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungā	Mō rhaungā	72 I may be
Hū hōngdā	Mī rhapelungō	Mō rhaungō	73 I shall be
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungōch	Mō rhepēkū hōnū	74 I should be
Mār	Lugā	Lōt	175 Beat
Mārōnā	Lugaukū	Lōtnēkū	176 To beat.
Mārtā	Lugātō	Lōttē	177 Beating
Māryā hō	Lugākō	Lōt lō	178 Having beaten
Hū mārtā	Mī lugaū	Mō lōtā	179 I beat
Tā mārtā	Tā lugaū	Ū lōtā	180 Thou beatest
Ō mārtā	Wō lugaū	Hamō lōtū	181 He beats
Ham mārtō	Ham lugaū	Tumō lōtū	182 We beat.
Tam mārtō	Tum lugaū	Vō lōtu	183 You beat
Vō mārtō	Yō lugaū	Mō lōtō	184 They beat
Mē nē māryā	Mī lugāyō	Tū lōtō	185 I beat (Past Tense)
Tē nē māryā	Tā lugāyō	Ū lōtō	186 Thou beatest (Past Tense)
Un nē māryā	Wō lugāyō		187 He beat (Past Tense)

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Natī (State Rampur)
161 They are	Wō haughō .	Ō hō	Wō hōchō
162 I was	Maĩ hūdo	Maĩ hando .	Khō nō .
163 Thou wast .	Taĩ hūdo	Yo hando	Khanĩ hōchā
164 He was	Wō hūdo	Ē hando	Woh hōcha
165 We were		Hamō handā	Kham nō
166 You were		Tumō handā	Num nō .
167 They were		Ō handa	Wō no
168 Be .		Huyingō .	Ho
169 To be		Hōwaku	Hōpnā
170 Being		Hōndo	Hōte huō
171 Having been		Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
172. I may be	Maĩ hūghasō .	Maĩ hōwungō	Hogō ke khō rō
173 I shall be	Maĩ hūghasō .	Maĩ hōwungō	Khō rōga
174 I should be		Maĩ hōnōch	Mij-kō hōpna chāhiya
175 Beat	Lugai	Kutwār	Lōthō
176 To beat	Lugaodirō	Kuṭwāiku	Lōthnā
177 Beating	Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōthtō huō
178 Having beaten	Lugao kō	Kutwār-ko	Lōth-kar
179 I beat	Maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭwāiō	Khū lōthtā rō
180 Thou beatest	Taĩ lugairō .	Yo kuṭwārō	Tā lōthta hai
181 He beats	Wō lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōthtā hai
182 We beat		Hamō kuṭwārō	Kham lōthtō hōchē
183 You beat		Tumō kuṭwārō	Num lōthtō hō
184 They beat .		Ō kutwārō	Wō lōthtō hōchē
185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kutrō	Khū-nō lōthā
186 Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taĩ lugaoghus	Yo kuṭrō	Num nō lōthā
187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Wō lugaoghus, lugais	Ē kuṭrō	Us nō lōthā

Q. d.	Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	English.
Uno tharta	Tō chhō	161 They are
Maī thartā thā	Mi hotō	162 I was
Tā thartā thā	Tū hotō	163 Thou wast
Uc tharta thī	Tō hotō	164 He was
Ham tharta the	Ham hotō	165 We were
Tume tharta the	Tam hotō	166 You were
Uno thartā the	Tē hatu	167 They were
Thak	Tlā	168 Be
Thak lā	Thawānō	169 To be
Thak tī	Thatōtō	170 Being
Thak lō	Thamc	171 Having been
Maī thaknā	Mi thaungā	172 I may be
Maī thaknā	Mi thaungō	173 I shall be
Maī thak nī	Mi thauch	174 I should be
Ghad	Nikān	175 Beat.
Ghad lā	Nikārwānō	176 To beat
Ghad tī	Nikartō	177 Beating
Ghad lō	Nikartō	178 Having beaten
Maī ghādtā	Mi nikarō	179 I beat.
Tā ghādtā	Tā nikar	180 Thou beatest.
Uc ghādtā	Tō nikān	181 He beats
Ham ghādte	Ham nikārā	182 We beat.
Tume ghādte	Tam nikār	183 You beat
Uno ghādte	Tō nikar	184 They beat.
Maī ghādyā	Mi nikaryō	185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tā ghādyā	Tā nikaryō	186 Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Uc ghādyā	Tō nikaryō	187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)

English	Oddi (Cutch)	S&al (Ordinary)	S&al (Ordinary)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Amĩ mārū .	Hamō mārū	Hamō lōva .
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamĩ marlū .	Tamō marlū .	Tamō lōva .
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taĩyō marlū .	Uuĩ unō mārū	Bauĩ unō lōva .
191 I am beating .	Hē marĩ sē	Haũ piũ mārū haĩ or haũ marĩ rihā haĩ	Haũ lōva hōpē haũ lōva rihā hōpē
192 I was beating	Hē marē silā .	Haũ marā thiyā (or silyā)	Haũ lōva thiyā
193 I had beaten	Mō mārū silā	Maĩ mārū thiyā (or silyā)	Maĩ lōva thiyā
194 I may beat	Hē marĩ .	Haũ mārō	Haũ lō
195 I shall beat	Hiē marĩ	Haũ mārōgē	Haũ lōgē .
196 Thou wilt beat	Tū mārĩ .	Taũ mārōgē	Taũ lōgē .
197 He will beat .	Sū marĩ	Uh mārōgē	Buh lōgē
198 We shall beat	Amĩ marū	Ham mārōgē	Ham lōgē
199 You will beat	Tamĩ mārū	Tam mārōgē	Tam lōgē
200 They will beat	Sū marĩ	Uh mārōgē .	Buh lōgē
201 I should beat	Mūchō marlō khapō	Haũ marā	Haũ lōva
202 I am beaten	Hē marala sē	Haũ mārū jattā haĩ	Haũ lōvā jastā hōpē
203 I was beaten	Hē marala silā .	Haũ marū jattā thiyā (or silyā)	Haũ lōva jastā thiyā (or silyā)
204 I shall be beaten	Hē marēē	Haũ marū jangrā	Haũ lōvā jangrā
205 I go	Hē jūē sē	Haũ jattā haĩ	Haũ jastā hōpē
206 Thou goest	Tū jūē sē	Taũ jattā haĩ	Taũ jastā hōpē
207 He goes	Sū jūē sē	Uh jattā haĩ	Buh jastā hōpē
208 We go	Amĩ jāũ sū	Ham jattō hū	Ham jastā hōpē
209 You go	Tamĩ jāwā sawā	Tam jattō hō	Tam jastā hōpē
210 They go	Sū jāē	Uh jattā haĩ	Buh jastā hōpē
211 I went	Hē gēlā	Haũ gavā (<i>pronounced gēā</i>)	Haũ gangā (or jastā)
212 Thou wentest	Tū gēlā	Taũ gayā	Taũ gangā (or jastā)
213 He went	Ō gēlā	Uh gayā	Buh gangā (or jastā)
214 We went	Amĩ gēlō	Ham gāō	Ham gangō (jastā)

KulhaḥI (Akola)	Gāndī	Myānwaler	English
Ham nē mīryā	Ham lugivō	Hamō lōtō	188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tum nē mīryā	Tum lugivō	Tumō lōtō	189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Unh nē mīryā	Yō lugivō	Vō lōtō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Hū mārtā hē	Mi lugivō hapela	Mō lōtā hū	191 I am beating
Hū mārtā thiv	Mi lugivō chhō	Mō lōtā hī	192 I was beating
Mē-nē mīryā thiv	Mi lugivō chhō	Mō lōtō	193 I had beaten
Mi nē mīryā	Mi lugivō ungō	Mō lōtūgō	194 I may beat
Hū mīryā	Mi lugivō ungō	Mō lōtūngō	195 I shall beat.
Tu mīryā	Tā lugivō ungō	Tū lōtūngō	196 Thou wilt beat.
Wō mīryā	Wō lugivō ungō	Ū lōtūngō	197 He will beat
Ham mīryā	Ham lugivō ungō	Hamō lōtūngō	198 We shall beat.
Tum mīryā	Tum lugivō ungō	Tumō lōtūngō	199 You will beat
Vō mīryā	Yō lugivō ungō	Vō lōtūngō	200 They will beat
Mē nē mīryā	Mi lugivō kīch	Mō lōtūkī hōnā	201 I should beat
Mu kī mīryā	Mi lugivō bōtē hapela	Mō lōt dātī hū	202 I am beaten
Mu kī mīryā thiv	Mi lugivō bōtē-chhō	Mō lōt dātī hī	203 I was beaten.
Mu kī mīryā	Mi lugivō bōtūngō	Mō lōt dātūngō	204 I shall be beaten
Hū jūtā	Mi dzhāvilā	Mō hīfā	205 I go
Tu jūtā	Tā dzhāvilā	Tā hīfā	206 Thou goest.
Ō jūtā	Wō dzhāvilā	Ū hīfā	207 He goes
Ham jūtā	Ham dzhāvilā	Hamō hīfā	208 We go
Tum jūtā	Tum dzhāvilā	Tumō hīfā	209 You go
Vō jūtā	Yō dzhāvilā	Vō hīfā	210 They go
Hū gayā	Mi ghayilyō	Mō hīfō	211 I went
Tu gayā	Tā ghayilyō	Tā hīfō	212 Thou wentest
Ō gayā	Wō ghayilyō	Ū hīfō	213 He went
Ham gayā	Ham ghayilyō	Hamō hīfō	214 We went

English	Ódli (Catch)	ᚱᚳᚲᚲ (Ordinary)	ᚱᚳᚲᚲ (Emphatic)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Amí mārū .	Hamō mārū .	Hamō lōva .
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamí mārū	Tamō mārū .	Tamō lōva
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taiyō mārū	Umī unō mārū	Bunī unō lōva
191 I am beating .	Hē marō sē	Haū piū mārū haī, or haū māi rihā haī	Haū lōva hōpē haū lōi rihā, hōpē
192 I was beating	Hē marō silā .	Haū marā thiyā (or siva)	Haū lōi thiyā
193 I had beaten	Mō mārū silā	Maī marā thiyā (or siva)	Maī lōva thiyā
194 I may beat	Hē mārē .	Haū mārē	Haū lōē
195 I shall beat	Hē marī	Haū marangrē	Haū lōgrē
196 Thou wilt beat	Tū mārī	Laū marangrē	Taū lōgrē
197 He will beat	Sū mārī	Uh marangrē	Buh lōgrē
198 We shall beat	Amī mārū	Ham marangrē	Ham lōgrē
199 You will beat	Tamī mārū	Tam mārangrē	Tam lōgrē
200 They will beat	Sū māi	Uh marangrē	Buh lōgrē
201 I should beat	Mūchō māi lō khapō	Haū marā	Haū lōi
202 I am beaten	Hē marā sē	Haū mārū jattā haī	Haū lōi jasrā hōpē
203 I was beaten	Hē marā silā	Haū marā jattā thiyā (or sivā)	Haū lōi jasrā thiyā (or sivā)
204 I shall be beaten	Hē marē	Haū mārū jāgrē	Haū lōva jasrangrē
205 I go	Hē jā sē	Haū jattā haī	Haū jasrā hōpē
206 Thou goest	Tū jā sē	Taū jattā haī	Taū jasrā hōpē
207 He goes	Sū jā sē	Uh jattā haī	Buh jasrā hōpē
208 We go	Amī jā sū	Ham jattō hū	Ham jasrō hōpō
209 You go	Tamī jāwā sawā	Tam jattō hō	Tam jasrō hōpō
210 They go .	Sū jā sē	Uh jatto haī	Buh jasrō hōpō
211 I went	Hē gēla	Haū gaya (pronounced gēā)	Haū gauga (or jasrā)
212 Thou wentest	Tū gēla	Taū gayā	Taū gaugā (or jasrā)
213 He went	Ō gēla	Uh gaya	Buh gauga (or jasrā)
214 We went	Amī gēlo	Ham gaō	Ham gaugō (jasrō)

Kolhu(I (Akola)	Garodī.	Myanwaler.	English
Ham-nē māryā	Ham lugayō	Hamō lōtō	186 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tum nē mārya	Tum lugayō	Tumō lōtō	189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Unh nē māryā	Yō lugāyō	Vē lōtō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Hū mārta hē	Mī lugātō hapelā	Mē lōtā hū	191 I am beating
Hū maritē thivā	Mī lugātō chhō	Mē lōtā hī	192 I was beating
Mē-nē māryā thiyā	Mī lugā chhō	Mē lōtōtō	193 I had beaten
Mē-nē mārñā	Mī lugāwungā	Mē lōtungā	194 I may beat
Hū marang	Mī lugāwungō	Mē lōtungō	195 I shall beat
Tu mārang	Tā lugāwungō	Tū lōtungō	196 Thou wilt beat.
Wō marang	Wō lugāwungō	Ū lōtungō	197 He wilt beat
Ham marang	Ham lugāwungō	Hamō lōtungō	198 We shall beat
Tam mārang	Tum lugāwungō	Tumō lōtungō	199 You will beat.
Vē marang	Yē lugāwungō	Vē lōtungō	200 They will beat
Mē nē mārñā	Mī lugānōkhāch	Mē lōtnōkhā hōpā	201 I should beat
Mu ku māryā .	Mī lugād bōtō-hapelā	Mē lōt dātī hū	202 I am beaten
Mu-ku māryā thiyā	Mī lugād bōtō-chhō	Mē lōt dātī hī	203 I was beaten
Mu ku mārang	Mī lugād bōtungō	Mē lōt dātungō	204 I shall be beaten
Hū jātā	Mī dzhayilā	Mē hūpā	205 I go
Tu jātā	Tā dzhayilā	Tā hūpā	206 Thou goest
Ō jātā	Wō dzhayilā	Ū hūpā	207 He goes
Ham jātō	Ham dzhayilu	Hamō hūpō	208 We go
Tam jātō	Tum dzhayilā	Tumō hūpā	209 You go
Vē jātō	Yē dzhayilā	Vē hūpā	210 They go
Hū gayā	Mī ghayilyō	Mē hitō	211 I went
Tu gayā	Tā ghayilyō	Tā hitō	212 Thou wentest
Ō gayā	Wō ghayilyō	Ū hitō	213 He went
Ham gayō	Ham ghayilyō	Hamō hitō	214 We went.

English	Kanjarī (Bitapur)	Kanjarī (Bakum)	Natl (St to Lampur)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Hamē kuṭrā	Kham ne lōthā
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Tumō kuṭrā	Num n' lōthā
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Ō kuṭrā	Unhō ne lōthā
191 I am beating	Maĩ lugaĩrō	Maĩ kuddā h'	Khū lōthā rō
192 I was beating	Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kuddō handō	Khū lōth rahā thā
193 I had beaten	Maĩ lugaighurō, maĩ lugaĩrō	Maĩ kuṭrōdā	Khū n lōthā thā
194 I may beat		Maĩ kuṭungō	Hōgō k' khū lōthō
195 I shall beat	Maĩ lugaosū, maĩ lugaoghast	Maĩ kuṭungā	Khū lōthōgā
196 Thou wilt beat	Taĩ lugaoghast	Yō kuṭungō	Khanū lōth rā
197 He will beat	Birō lugaoghast	Ē kuṭungō	Woh lōth rā
198 We shall beat		Hamē kuṭungā	Kham lōthērō
199 You will beat		Tumē kuṭungā	Num lōthērō
200 They will beat		Ō kuṭungā	Wē lōthērō
201 I should beat	Maĩ lugaoghastū	Maĩ kuṭwār wā ka hōnā	Mujh kō lōthnā chahērō
202 I am beaten	Maĩ lugaĩrō gaoghurō	Maĩ kuṭwār līnō	Khū lōthā gavā rō
203 I was beaten	Maĩ lugaĩrō gaoghurō thō	Maĩ kuṭwār-gau	Khū lōthā gavā thā
204 I shall be beaten	Maĩ lugaĩrō gaoghastū	Maĩ kuṭwār lēw ungō	Khū lōthā jāṅgā
205 I go	Maĩ jaoghastō	Maĩ nikharungō	Khū jāsurtā
206 Thou goest	Taĩ jaoghastī	Yō nikharungō	Nū jāsurtā hai
207 He goes	Wō jaoghastī	Ē nikharungō	Woh jāsurtā hai
208 We go		Hamō nikhardāĩ	Kham jāsurtō hōchē
209 You go		Tumō nikhardāĩ	Num jāsurtō hō
210 They go		Ō nikhardāĩ	Wē jāsurtō hōchē
211 I went	Maĩ jaoghurō	Maĩ gawō	Khū gavā
212 Thou wentest	Taĩ jaoghurō	Yō gawō	Nū gayā
213 He went	Wō jaoghurō	Ē gawō	Woh gayā
214 We went		Hamō gawā	Kham gavō

Qasari	Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	English
Ham ghādyā	Ham mākāryō	186 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tumo ghādyā	Tum mākāryō	189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Uno ghādyā	Tē mākāryō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Mañ ghāḍṭa hai	Mi mākārtāñ	191 I am beating
Mañ ghāḍṭā hatta	Mi mākārtōtō	192 I was beating
Mañ ghādyūtā	Mi mākāryōtō	193 I had beaten.
Mañ ghāḍengā	Mi mākārunḡā	194 I may beat
Mañ ghāḍunga	Mi mākārunḡō	195 I shall beat
Tā ghāḍunga	Tā mākārunḡō	196 Thou wilt beat.
Une ghāḍungā	Tō mākārunḡō	197 He will beat
Ham ghāḍungā	Ham mākārunḡō	198 We shall beat.
Tumo ghāḍungā	Tum mākārunḡō	199 You will beat
Uno ghāḍungā	Tē mākārunḡō	200 They will beat
Mañ ghāḍnā	Mi mākārunḡō	201 I should beat
Mañ ghāḍ khañ	Mi mākārunḡō	202 I am beaten
Mañ ghāḍ khayā	Mi mākārunḡō	203 I was beaten.
Mañ ghāḍ khaungā	Mi mākārunḡō	204 I shall be beaten
Mañ khūwatañ	Mi mākārunḡō	205 I go
Tā khūwatañ	Mi mākārunḡō	206 Thou goest
Une khūwatañ	Mi mākārunḡō	207 He goes
Ham khūwate	Mi mākārunḡō	208 We go
Tumo khūwate	Mi mākārunḡō	209 You go
Uno khūwate	Mi mākārunḡō	210 They go
Mañ khūhuwa	Mi mākārunḡō	211 I went
Tā khūhuwa	Mi mākārunḡō	212 Thou wentest
Uno khūhuwā	Mi mākārunḡō	213 He went
Ham khūhuwā	Mi mākārunḡō	214 We went

English	Ōdki (Cutch)	Ōdki (Ordinary)	Ōdki (Criminal)
215 You went	Tamĩ gēlō	Tam gnō	Tam gaugō (jasrō)
216 They went	Sū gēlō	Uh gnō	Buh gaugō (jasrō)
217 Go	Jā	Ju, juō	Jasr, jasrō
218 Going	Jatā	Tattā	Jasrtā
219 Gone	Gēlā	Gava	Gaugī jasrtā
220 What is your name?	Tam chō nām kāy?	Tuhārī nī kya hai?	Tuhārgī nāu(ha kvā hōpō?
221 How old is this horse?	Hā gōrī kawpīk sē?	Is ghōrē kya umr hai?	Bis kādīr gī kvā khumr hōpō?
222 How far is it from hero to Kashmir?	Kashmir nīhō tī kītrik chhētō sē?	Ēthō Kashmirā tāī kīnī dūr hai?	Bethō Kashmirā tāī kīnī khadīr hōpō?
223 How many sons are there in your father's house?	Tam chō bā chō gharī māī kētrēk pūt sī?	Tuhārō happī-gō gharā bich kīnō pūt hāī?	Tuhārgō bēptō gō khaulē kīnō bōr hōpō?
224 I have walked a long way to day	Āj mō lāmbī path karī sē	Āj hāū bapī dūī turīā	Kōjj hāū jādī khadīr nūrtā
225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister	Māchō kākō-chā pūt tē-chō bānī-nē pēnlā sē	Mōrō kākō-gā pūt uskīā kīnō sāth biahī hōū hai	Mōrgō kākō gā bōrā buskīā (or kharpnīā) dhabūā nūth chhahm hōpīā hōpō
226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse	Gharā māī dhōrō gōrē-chā kāthā sē	Baggō ghōrē-gī kāthī gharā bich hai	Dhabaggō kādū-gī nūthī khaulē bich hōpō
227 Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē chī puthā māthō kāthā māḍā.	Kāthī uskīā pūtthā par bābō	Nūthī buskīā pūtthā kharpar dāwō
228 I have beaten his son with many stripes	Mō tē-chō pūtā-nē ghanō phatkhō mārē sī	Māī uskō pūtā gū bapō kōṭlē (brunt or soṭē) mārē	Māī buskō bōrō gū jado nōtlē (nhotē) lō
229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū dūgrā māthō chōpō charārē sē	Uh pahārī giā chōtīā uppar dhangr chugātā hai	Bah pahārī giā nōtīā kharpar khadangar nūgtīā hōpō
230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree	Sū ō jhārā nichē gōrō māthō bēslā sē	Uh us rukkhā gō tal ghōrē ge uppar baithū hai	Bah bus kharukkhā-gō tal kudrō kharpar (baṭkīā hōpō
231 His brother is taller than his sister	Ē-chī bīnī-kartā ē-chā bhān ūchā sē	Uskā bhāī uskīā bānā satthā lammā hai	Buskā bhātī buskīā (or kharpnīā) dhabānā natthā khalammā hōpō
232 The price of that is two rupees and a half	Ē-chī kīmat adhi rūpiē sē	Iskā moll dhāī rūpavē hai	Biskā chīmūl nūhāī baluō (or ruknā or labē) hōpō
233 My father lives in that small house	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē	Mōrā bapp uskīō gharā bich rāhtā hai	Mergā bāptā bus kīkō khaulē bich rangtā hōpō
234 Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē nō dēwā	Uskō chā rupavā dē	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, labu) dēp
235 Take those rupees from him	Iē rūpiē tō pásē thī ghōwā	Uskō pásā uh rupavē lēī lē	Buskō nasā buh ruknō lēpī lēp
236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Ē-nē khar mārā anē rādhvē-tī bādhā.	Uskō achchhīā tarā mārō tē rassē sāthth bādhō	Buskō chēngulā narā lōō tē kharassē natth chhēdwō
237 Draw water from the well	Kuwē-māiv-tī pāpī kādū	Us khūā bichcha pānī kādū	Bus nūā khabichchā chāī kēdhwō
238 Walk before me	Mā agīā chāl	Mērō aggō turō	Mērgē kuggō nuro
239 Whose boy comes behind you?	Tamā wāsō kē-chā pūt āwō sē?	Tuhārō pichhē kiskā pūt atā hai?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā asrtā hōpō?
240 From whom did you buy that?	Tamī hāw kē pásē tī vēchātī ghōlē?	Tamō kīs thō uh mōllē līya?	Tamō kīs thō buh khamōllē lēpiā?
241 From a shopkeeper of the village	Gāmā-chō ēk hāṭāwārē pásē-tī	Gāwā gē ēkī dukandārā pásā	Dhāmā-(or nādā) gē bēkī kūtīā wālō nāsā.

Kolhaḥ (Akola)	Gardī	Myānwale	English.
Tam gavā .	Tum ghayalyō	Tamō hūṭō	You went.
Vō gayō .	Yō ghavalyō	Vō hūṭō	They went.
Jā	<u>Drhāyā</u>	Hūṭvāḍ	Go
Chalyā	<u>Drhalyō</u>	Hūṭō	Going
Gavā .	Ghavalōsō	Hūṭōsō	Gone
Tārā nāwchhū kyā hē f	Tērō chyōnō kō ?	Tērō nōkādō lā ?	What is your name ?
Is rhōḍṭ kī humbar rōṭṭi hachchē ?	F ghōṭṭē-kū kītmā bars ?	Hō ghōḍchē-kū kītanō nārās ?	How old is this horse ?
Bhūḥ sī Kāsmīr rōṭṭi dūr hē ?	Jugā sī Kāsmīr kītmā dūr ?	Hyū sō Kāsmīr kītanō dūg ?	How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērō kuppā lē khōggē kōṭṭe chhōṭ hē ?	Tērō bhūwātō-kō nānd mā kītmā lāwḍō ?	Tērō māwātō-kō khōk-mō kītanō gēlpō ?	How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Āj bahōṭṭā durā sī phurī āyā	Mī āj bhārānūm bāt chāl-kō hūyalyō	Mō khōj chhōṭ dūg rāṭ nālō	I have walked a long way to-day
Mār kākē kō chhōṭ nā nē lā lūhōṭā sī bīhū laggyā	Wōkō bhāntchī mērō kākē-kō lāwḍō-kū wālānī	Wākī rhākī mērō ghākā-kū gēlpō kū khūchwādī	The son of my uncle is married to his sister
U sī kh gū-mē dhothē rhōḍē kō khōgīr hī	Wā nānd mā khūjō ghōr-kā khōgīrtī rhāpēl	Wā khōk mō dhōkō ghōḍchō nhōgīr hōbrō	In the house is the saddle of the white horse
U sī nūṭī par khōgīr dhōr	Wōkō pānchōhī pā khōgīrtī ghōkēl	Wākī nīṭ-kō khupār nhōgīr nākōḍ	Put the saddle upon his back
U sī chhōṭ kō hū jōhōl phātāṭ thāva	Mī wōkō lāwḍō-kū bhār-kūm lūgāyō	Mē wāko gēlpō kō chhōṭ lōṭō	I have beaten his son with many stripes
Ō u sī nēkī par ghōr charī rhīva	Wō wā ṭēkī pā kūwō chārāyillā hē	Ō nēkādī-kō khūpar ū nāl nārā rhōkō hōbrō	He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill
U sī nhōḍā kō tūm rhōḍē-par thōkṭā hōchchē	Wō wā dīhād kō-tan ghōr-kā pā thūgyā hē	Dīhād kō tākō ū ghōḍchō khūpar ṭōs rōkō	He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
U sī bhāwṭī nē kō lūhōṭā sī khūchchā hē	Wōkō bhāntchī sī ōkō bhōk-dā khūchchō bhāpēlā	Wākō rhākī wākī rhākī-sō khūchchō hōbrō	His brother is taller than his sister
Bās kō mōl lōḍhī tīvā h-	Ōkī kīmmat khādī gandilō	Wākī dhūmmat khādī ghōkyā	1. The price of that is two rupees and a half
Mērō bhāptā bās nānchā khōggē mō rōkṭā hōch ch-	Mērō bhāwātō nānchō nānd mā rhāpēlā	Mērō māwātō wā nhōkō khōk mō rhōkō	3. My father lives in that small house
Yō tīvā bās kō d pō	Ō kō yō gandilā wālā	Wā kū yō ghōkyā khūch wād	4. Give this rupee to him
Bās kō nājikā sō nō ṭīvā lōp	Ō gandilō wōkōn sō thāyāl	Wā pēsō yō ghōkyā chōḍg bēt	5. Take those rupees from him
Bās kō rōp ṭāy ān bās-kū n'kōṭyā-sī nāḍḍhī lā	Ō-ū chūsam lūgā kū jōwḍī sī chūrwand	Wā kū khūchō lōṭ-kār jōkādī sō chōnd	6. Beat him well and bind him with ropes
Ruyō mō sī chōṭī kādī	Thūḍḍī mā sō ghūchmēl nīmū	Rāvādī mō sō chāyī tōḍg-bēt	7. Draw water from the well
Mērō nūmō nāl	Mērō khagādī chāl	Mērō khagādī nāl wād	8. Walk before me
Tērō nīchchō rīs kō bōṭā nārā ?	Tērō ghūchādī sō kōn kō lāwḍō hāyāl ?	Tērō rīpchō kūn-kō gēlō bhār wādō ?	9. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Būṭ rīṭṭhō sī mōlō lōpyā ?	Tū yō kōn kōn sī mōl lūhā lō ?	Tū yō kōn pēsō dīmāl bētō ?	10. From whom did you buy that ?
Bās rhōḍō kō nūkādārū thōṭī	Wā nānd kō ek mā rāwā nūyā kōn sī	Wā nhōḍē-kā nūkānwālō-pēsō	From a shopkeeper of the village

English	Kanjarī (Nagpur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Natī (State Kanjar)
215 You went		Tumo gawā	Num gayā
216 They went		Ō gawā	Wē gayē
217 Go	Jaugh	Nikhar	Jān
218 Going	Jaughadō	Nikharlō	Jawarē hu
219 Gone	Raūch gaugharō	Nikhar-gaugrī	Jawarā huā
220 What is your name ?	Tērō ku nno-hu lō ?	Tērō nīm ku ?	Numbārā kya nām hai ?
221 How old is this horse ?	Ih ghupiro kutō ruphō hai ?	F ghōdō ki kitti umar ?	Is ruhaphē ki kya khumar hai ?
222 How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Ihā sō Kashmir kitti durhō hūghō ?	Hyānde Kāśmir kitān dūr hē ?	Fih s Kashmir kitān dūr hai ?
223 How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tērō bap-hu ki rābō-mā kai chubka hūghō ?	Tērō bap-ko nandā mā kitti bādā hō ?	Numbārā khakap-k rōhallā mō kitā bōr hōchō ?
224 I have walked a long way to day	Mañ aj dar hēlō gaugharō	Mañ aj bahut dūr rastō chālō hō	Ihā aj chhūt khadē chālī n
225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister	Mērō kakā kū chūbko burō ki rahin lūru	Urō ki bhavap mērō kakā k bādā ku dīnā hō	Mērō kak kū bōhrā nō ki chhī n s bōhā gawā
226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse	Rābō mā rapēd ghuparō kū jin hē li hai	Ō nandō-mā ujalī ghōdō-ki jin hē	Rōhallā mō nō ruhaphē kā gad lū hai
227 Put the saddle upon his back	Birō-ki pithēlī par jin hēlī thikō	Urō-ki pitēlī pō jin dālwar	Us ki pēthī par gaddā dharō
228 I have benten his son with many stripes	Mañ birō-kē chubka kū rahut chabuk lagarō	Mañ urō ki baidā ku bahut ghadwādō hō	Mō nō kū bōhr kō chhūt lōthā
229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill	Birō ruhārī-ki ruṭu par gahēlī charghadi	Yō t kō-pō janawarē charwādō hō	Woh ruhārī ki gōth par nōhē charā rahā hai
230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree	Birō paphu tāi ghuparī par chhānō hai	F dīhād-ke jīmī ghōdō-kō khōpar chetō-h	Woh us pē ki khatar bōk ruhaphēlī par (hōk) hai
231 His brother is taller than his sister	Birō kō chibhūt burī ki rahinā sō lambō hai	Urō-kō bhāi urō-ki bhavan dō khūchē hē	Us kā bhāō nō-ki chhannī s' chhūt khālmuk hai
232 The price of that is two rupees and a half	Birō-ka dam-huā khārāl gōl hai	Us ki kimmat jawadāt kailā	Us ki rimat khāi khambā hai
233 My father lives in that small house	Mērō bap-hu lō birō chhuparō rābō mō hē	Mērō bapōnō wō nunnē nandō mā rahādō	Mērā nap us nannē rōhallā mō rōhū hai
234 Give this rupee to him	Jō gōl birō tūr	Yō kailā urō ku kīdō	Yah khambā nō kō dē pī dō
235 Take those rupees from him	Wō gōl birō-sō lō hūgh	Urō-ko pās dō wō kailā chhūgnā lō	Woh khambā us sō lē pī lō
236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Birō kō khūb lūgāi bān jibōrhēlī sō chāūdī	Urō kō nīrō ghadwād kō rusēlī dō bandwāi	Us kō khūb lōthō aur jōrāv-sō bēdhō dō
237 Draw water from the well	Dhūñ-sō nūmāñ nikar	Bawādī mā dē nīwānī khich wār	Rāñ sō chhāñ tēkī lō
238 Walk before me	Mērō khāgēlō chālugh	Mērō sambōr chālwar	Mērō gōgō chālō
239 Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tērō mōhō kinō kō chūbko aughadō ?	Tērō pichwād dō kīrō kō baidō awardō ?	Numbārō nēhīlō kis kā bōhrā āsūtā hai ?
240 From whom did you buy that ?	Kinō sō tāñ mulah lō hūgharō ?	Yō kīrō kō pās dē kimatnō līnō ?	Num-nō woh nēh kis sō lēpī hī ?
241 From a shopkeeper of the village	Gaohēlā kō bōk banīō-sō	Ō khēdō kē okkān dukān-wālā kō pās-dē	Nandwā-kō bōk bānyā-ro

Qasbi	Sikalgāri (Belgaum)	English
Tume khūhuwā . . .	Tum gakyō . . .	215 You went.
Uno khūhuwā . . .	Tō gakyō . . .	216 They went.
Kha	Jakan . . .	217 Go
Khūwatā	Jākanta . . .	218 Going
Khūwāsi . . .	Gaknal . . .	219 Gone
Tērō nan kyī ? . . .	Tārā nām su ?	220 What is your name ?
Ē ghōḍō ku kette sāl ? . . .	Yō chhimnā nō kokhalā warakh ?	221 How old is this horse ?
Hyāsī Kāsmīr kette dār ?	Hyā tō Kāsmīr kokhalā dār ?	222 How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bāba kā nann me kettā kachelo ?	Tārā yabā nā khōl mā kokhalā dikarā chhō ?	223 How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr baṭ chalwadka anaryā	Mi āj ghanu dūr wāṭ chālyō	224 I have walked a long way to-day
Use bhāy mēra chichche-ka kachelā ku lidyātai.	Tini bhōn mārā kākā nā dikarā nō gāryōch	225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister
Ō nann me njalo ghōḍō ko khōgir thog tiye	Tina khōl mā dhōḷō chhimnā nō khōgir chhō	226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse
Uskī piṭ lū uppar khōgir nḍal	Tinā piṭḍa-par khōgir ghāgal	227 Put the saddle upon his back
Maī uskā kachīlā ku bahut ghāḍya haū	Mi tinā chhōkhūnō ghantōl nikāryō	228 I have beaten his son with many stripes
Uno ō ḍoḅgar-ke uppar gōrpe charwāḍta hai	Tō ṭōkaḍā par dhōrō charwālāgyō	229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill
Uno ō dībhāḍ ke tallo ghōḍō-ko uppar baṭwāḍe	Tō dībhāḍō khōṭō chhimnā par bukhlyō	230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree
Uskā bhai uska bhāy se uncha thārtāū	Tini bhēn tī tinō bhāy; uchchō chhō	231 His brother is taller than his sister
Uskī kimmat jawanis kaila	Tini kimmat khaḍī sabādā	232 The price of that is two rupees and a half
Mērā bibā ō subak nann me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tō nhānchōn khōl mā rakhhan	233 My father lives in that small house
Uska ō kailā lid	Tinō yō sabādā gār	234 Give this rupee to him
Ō kailo usko pas-te mangāllo	Tī kanta yō sabādā ohigūrilō	235 Take those rupees from him
Use sōbit tarā so ghāḍko rāsi-se bandāl .	Tine ghantōl nikārī nō ḍoḍḍā tō chhānd	236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī mē si nirga khaṭchāl	Īr-ma tū pāni lāḡōṭ	237 Draw water from the well
Mērā sāmmō chalwāḍ	Mā khamō chāgal	238 Walk before me
Tērā pichōsi kis lā chhanakā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kinō chhōknō ālhtyō ?	239 Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis ko pās to tume ō mauḷ ku hḍapyā ?	Tū tē ki-kantō khikkātō-lēkhtyō ?	240 From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍō lā ekkan dukānwālā pāste	Khōḍā nā wāniya kantā	241 From a shopkeeper of the village.